Vol. XXII] NOV., 1965—FEB , 1966 [Parts 1—2

THE JOURNAL OF THE GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE



ALLAHABAD

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

Vol. XXII] NOV., 1965—FEB., 1966 [Parts 1—2

THE JOURNAL OF THE GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE



ALLAHABAD

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

Board of Editors

Dr. B. C. Law
Dr. Jayakaṇta Mishra
Dr. Ishwari Prasad
Mm. Dr. Umesha Mishra



Published by
The Honorary Secretary,
Ganganatha Jha Research Institute
Allahabad

Printed by P. L. Yadava
at The Indian Press (Private) Ltd.
Allahabad

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

JOURNAL

OF THE

GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Vol. XXII, Pts. 1—2

NOV., 1965—FEB., 1966

CONTENTS

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

JOURNAL

OF THE

GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Vols. XXII] NOV., 1965—FEBRUARY, 1966 [Parts 1—2

KARMA AND REBIRTH

By PROF. K. C. VARADACHARI*

Assuming that karma produces rebirth we have to ask ourselves how karma is the cause of rebirth, and in what way rebirth is connected with it as effect. If karma potentially contains rebirth then it manifests it after one dies and moves towards getting the conditions that make rebirth of the soul, who does the karma or act. This would mean that rebirth is already present in the cause namely karma. If rebirth is considered to be a misery and wisemen would avoid it, then karma has also to be abjured. Therefore there have been serious students of liberation or mokṣa who have counselled absolute renunciation of all action (karma-sannyāsa). This means that these thinkers hold that cause contains the effect potentially, a doctrine known as *sat-kārya-vāda*.

If on the other hand one follows the counter-doctrine or alternative doctrine that cause does not contain the effect, but it is a new product created by the efficient cause, then the effecient cause has to be inspected as to whether it can be the cause of the rebirth—this is revealed by all to be desire, *kāma*, *tṛṣṇā*, conscious or unconscious, voluntary in a sense. But when extended to cover all living which is said to be the 'will

* Sri Rājagṛha, 8, G. Car Street, Tirupati (A.P.).

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

to live', then the abjuring of all desire would be the cause of non-birth. This means a niṣkāma karma will not produce the conditions for rebirth or in any way stick to a man. The renunciation of desire is the dharma that has to guide the performance of all duties, not the renunciation of all karma. Karma then would be the upādāna kāraṇa, whereas kāma would be the nimitta kāraṇa of rebirth: and consequently niṣkāma would lead to non-birth.

There are three kinds of karma which the ancient Indian thinkers have propounded, the nitya (permanent or daily) performance, the naimittika (occasional for one's spiritual advancement and for paying one's debts to one's ancestors, and gods, on prescribed occasions), and lastly the kāmya (rightful desires which are for progeny, for success in one's undertaking). One is expected normally to perform all karmas with a sense of detachment in respect of fruits even. Desires for wealth, power, glory and knowledge are desires: even desire for emancipation and spiritual advancement are desires: and there are legitimate as well as illegitimate desires as well as means adopted to gain these goals. These could be the cause of pleasure or pain, success or defeat. There are desires to take further lives to ensure the fulfilment of one's desires or for taking vengeance.

We have to take note of karma which is not linked up with rebirth or even in any way restricting or binding the soul which does its duty by its knowledge of God's all-pervasiveness or presence and in the light of its own nature determined by this vision. Such action is capable of making one cross over death. As the *Īśā. Up.* says, Na karma lipyate nare, and avidyayā mṛtyum tīrtvā, the Lord in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* also says kartavyam karma has to be performed and the kartavyam karma are nitya—permanent and daily duty—such as the observance of self-discipline. yama which includes satya, ahiṁsā, aparigraha, asteya and brahmacarya which

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

have to be followed as also the niyamas of śauca and Iśvara-praṇidhāna. These duties performed with dedication of their results to God or without any attachment lead to sva-rūpa-avadhāraṇam. It makes one know oneself as a spirit seeking liberation from the cycle of births and deaths. The nitya works are described in the Āgamas as pañcakalā duties —so that one develops the conditions of God-mindedness (maccitta) or (man-manā) of the Gītā which helps one to cross over all obstacles (sarva-durgāṇi) through the grace of God (mat-prasādāt). This shows that karma-yoga shows the way to realisation of mokṣa through performance of works through dispassion and dedication.

The naimittika duties are for higher evolution, for sub-lime happiness. One should aspire for the attainment of the divine nature. Here desire is sublimated and made to help the realisation of the divine nature. This occasions the undertaking of *tapas,* (austerity), *dāna* (charity) and *yajña* (sacrifice). *Svargakāma* which is certainly a higher subli-mated experience and at one time considered to be the highest that one could aspire for, a world of light and bliss can be fulfilled only through sacrifice (*yajña*). Of course Brahma-yajña is very important, so too devayajña, pitṛ-yajña and atithi-yajña and lastly bhūta-yajña reveal the highest aspi-ration for the unity of the triple worlds, bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ and svar. In a modern conception this is for higher evolution and births in higher worlds. Unless one goes to the highest one is said to return to lower worlds—the earth itself. One is said to return—*punarāvṛtti.* If one reaches the highest Brahman one does not return—na punarāvṛtti. The attain-ment of the Puruṣottama is said to secure this state of non-return. All yajña is for higher results. If we consider the kāmya-karma these procure results even now and here such as progeny, kingdoms which have been lost, or attainment of world matstery or sovereignty. Yāgas help these—these are

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

called iṣṭis secured by offering yāga to the Gods who could give or work for them directly. Here the results are not permanent and one may, because of sacrificial killing suffer also, though there is difference of opinion on this matter. It is only Buddha and Sāṅkhya that hold yāga to be a violation of the rule of ahiṁsā. In any case it is kāmya-karma that is capable of landing one in misery of rebirth. The fear of rebirth is therefore very evident in this conception.

II

It is a very fundamental question whether rebirth is not something that is not desirable. Though transmigration to lower types of bodies, such as that of asuras, animals etc is to be avoided the birth in higher types of bodies such as devas or of nitya-suris, ṛṣis is something very much desired for, firstly because such beings are of the purest type, without a taint of sin or bondage, śuddha sattva, even aprākṛta, divya. Many seek to prolong their happy existence even on this planet and wish to be reborn again and again to be of service to God, or enjoy bliss even in this body. Some do not desire even Vaikuṇṭha for service of the Godhead here seems to them to be preferable. But some others even though they express such sentiments seek to attain the state of Brahman or His world (paramapada) and as Śrī Kṛṣṇa stated that which determines one's next birth is the antyakālasmaraṇa—the rememberance at the last moment. This has therefore to be carefully watched. Since by the axiom that which we desire, that we become, rebirth is caused by the strongest desire at the last moment or during last days of a man's life, for he would have rejected many things, learnt also what not to desire and what to desire, and finally would be remembering his sins and transgressions for which he had to perform prāyaścitta, expiations and pray for being saved. This is the place for śaraṇāgati, self-surrender which helps him to cross over the birth into lower kinds of wombs. He is said to

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

become quickly a good soul, a soul which has decided to help himself or uplift himself, kalyāṇakṛt.

If unending births with unlimited joys—whatever these may be 'is desirable', then all that is needed is the performance of such actions which bring forth these results. Proper selection of actions for the attainment of these ends is important. Thus the Vedic seers knew of karma—divya-karma which led to results that grant joys or delight. The knowledge that one might have to return to mortal birth after exhaustion of the fruits of actions was also an incentive to (i) continuous performance of such karma (yajña) or kratu, and (ii) to discover that sacrifice which leads to non-return. The second was the self-surrender—and bhakti into which it developed.

It is possible at this point to consider whether rebirth consciousness does not entail the remembrance (smaraṇa or smṛti) of past lives or not. One of the arguments against rebirth is that we do not remember the past life. There are cases of such remembrances. Swāmī Vivekānanda himself has declared that he remembers them after performing saṁyama on that matter. A yogin can remember his past lives. For others it is a necessity not to remember not only one's own past lives but also others as well. Indeed forgetfulness or the necessity to forget is one of the great incentives to take one's life or suicide. Apoha or loss of memory is a great phychological or psycho-analytical fact about which Freud has written.

If there is conscious desire or volition to be born again there is also a conscious volition to forget one's past. Perhaps it is remembrance that makes saints speak about their sinfulness through lives. Therefore it is the belief in this power of will or desire (tṛṣṇā) that is expressed as the most powerful force towards realisations of both the good and the bad.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

Sri Aurobindo has in his brilliant work on Rebirth mentioned that continuous or serial births is one way by which immortality of the soul is being demonstrated. The soul is the transmigrator, it is that which has been moving up the ladder of evolution through several kinds of births in the several levels of consciousness from the elemental molecules or matter to the level of man by their appetitions and later desires and volitions.

Other seers also have spoken about their previous lives and despite the incredulity of modern materialists it is clear that one can realise his own past lives though this realisation is bound to be of personal interest alone. This should not be a reason for dismissing the remembrance of past lives and rebirth therefore as sheer moonshine or imagination. Our hatreds and lives are verily based on prior life-histories as Kālidāsa himself states. Śrī Kṛṣṇa himself mentions about his own previous lives all of which he remembers, whereas Arjuna is one who has forgotten them: janma karma ca me divyam: bahūni me vyatītāni janmāni tava cārjuna, tāni aham veda sarvāṇi na tvam vettha Parantapa (4.5). In the Bhāgavata he reminds his mother about his previous births in her womb in her previous births.

Hinduism always believed in this cycle of rebirths and births-divine as well as human and sub-human of the soul. Karma is the cause of these, either as propelled by a divine desire and divine work, or by undivine desire and undivine work, as of the asuras and the human beings and sub-humans. To deny the rebirths is therefore to go against all facts.

The immortality of the germ-plasm and its continuity does not spell out rebirth idea. Rebirth in one sense is to speak about the continuous ascent of life. But it could well be just a cycle of birth and death at every level as such. We cannot directly affirm or deny the principle of karma-rebirth relation in biology. All that we could affirm is that

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

lower organisms which are wholes become parts of larger wholes whilest yet keeping up their wholeness. This holistic nisus towards larger and more intelligent and conscious organisms in a polyphasic manifestation, is about the most significant factor of organic evolution. But karma and rebirth are not of relevance at the level of the germplasm. It is the inveterate habit of some thinkers to seek to make Vedānta or any other scientific study by utilising phraseology which they hardly perhaps understand as inapplicable at the lower levels.

All such identifications are bound to be firstly first look analogies which fail to satisfy under scrutiny. Karma is something deliberately chosen and not all kinds of acts. As a matter of fact karma has been dealt with in three forms: 1. Karma-action which is done and it may be either dharma (righteous) or adharma (unrighteous). If former, according to Buddhism it severs the chain of rebirth-cycle; according to Mīmāṁsā it is that which procures svarga: 2. Karma means not knowledge and therefore akarma means knowledge. Actions which lead to purification of the citta removing its vṛttis is the preparation for non-birth. Thus avidyā means karma and vidyā means knowledge. *Īśa.* says that by avidyā one conquers or goes beyond or crosses death, whereas vidyā leads to immortality or non-death. The third is called vikarma which is wrong activity. It is this wrong activity that constitutes the principle of fall (*patana*). Āsuric activities, transgressions of divine law, agoism and so on are the causes of misery, death, rebirth into lower wombs. Adam's fall is due to transgression of Divine counsel or command. So all transgressions involve death as well as birth into lower wombs, wombs suitable for the qualities of wickedness and so on with their resultant miseries and further falls. There is a hierarchy in the fall as there is a hierarchy in the ascent. The spiritual evolution is not

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

like the biological evolution. The Sāṅkhyan evolution is a spiritual evolution by which the individual soul is made to traverse the whole downword path through a search for pleasure or enjoyment of Nature but slowly discovering that Nature can only give insecure and paradoxical pleasures and enjoyments attended by the misery (duḥkha of three kinds ādhibhautika, ādhyātmika and ādhidaivika) he gains wisdom through these anubhavas and seeks to liberate himseff from Nature by withdrawal of Nature from him and or he from Her. Science in this field is a little different and the laws of the higher level could only be by distortion applied to the lower levels like the biological life. Spirit has different aims and laws, perhaps remotely correspondential not directly. Swami Ishwaranandaji's paper confuses the two evolutions. The Saṁskāras of puṁsavana and sīmantham at the fifth and seventh months or thereabouts speak about the special process of entry of the soul into the growing uterus. How far this is justifiable from our present or current knowledge it is difficult to say.

Further the transmigration occurs through the subtle body comprising the ten sense-organs, mind and the tanmātras and the Buddhi and the Puruṣa, in an infinitesimal state. The liṅgaśarīra is that which enters the body and groups together the gross elements according to the attractions of the subtle elements and with all the defects, earned in the previous life. An alternative account is given by Plato in his Republic regarding how the soul selects its next body.

There is every evidence to hold that there are cases of the subtle or astral body moving about for a foothold again in some body in some womb. Some inexplicable cases of monstrous births are results of such wandering souls which yearn for a body. For the physical body is the only means by which they could expiate their past or redeem their future. The hereditary principle which tries to question the rebirth-

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

karma principle is not conclusive. The divine determines the birth of each soul, according to a complex set of circumstances like the parents' karma, the individual's karma, the conditions under which both karmas or other karmas as well would work out. Fate there is but it is conditioned by the principle of grace and the principle of ascent through aspiration or yearning after liberation and renunciation of the pleasure-principle without hugging the pain-principle.

The soul can exist in a disembodied state, that is to say, without a karma-body, or a body filled by karma as the Jainas say. To give up the body is to give up bondage. Such a condition is one of pure spirit. Such a soul is freed from all kinds of prārabdha, sañcita and āgāmi karmas, and lives as spirit. Such a soul it is stated can get a divine body and also could freely operate in all the worlds of God without any taint of karma or rebirth. The divine karma of avatāras to which reference was made earlier in this paper reveals that when the Divine work takes place also the angels or ṛṣis and liberated souls would be taking bodies to assist the Avatāra. Rāmāyaṇa mentions this as also the Mahābhārata. So is it with the disciples and workers who also come with their leaders. So too their opponents are said to come into the world to oppose the Divine, even as Zoroaster posited. The purpose of these divine births—of those who remember their previous lives—is to protect the good, to punish the wicked and to restore the reign of justice or law (dharma) in the world. They may suffer much but it is taken not as a consequence of their past misconduct or pāpa, but as an expiation for others' wrongs and sins, or as preparing for the punishment of the wicked through giving opportunities for doing evil or desisting from it before it is too late for pardon.

We can also refer to the two lines of karma—the descending one determined by desire for low pleasures of the

F. 2

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

body, and the other the higher line of karma which seeks higher and divine births through purest aspiration for the divine life.

In the higher lines of birth we have a series of births spoken of as the twice-born, the thrice-born, the quadruple born and so on. The dvija is one who had the initiatory sacrament called the upanayana—which in a sense prepares him for study of the scriptures and also to worship the Divine Sun and Gāyatrī in order to go upwards to the next birth—namely of śaraṇa or self-surrender and self-offering. The individual is then fit for higher births beyond the terrestrial world. This is what is intimated in the *Īśāvāsyopaniṣad*-sambhutiṁ ca vināśaṁ ca yastad vedobhayaṁ saha, vināśena mṛtyum tīrtvā, sambhūtyā amṛtam aśnute.

Such births are invaluable steps which lead to that condition of being without a body, akāyam, avraṇam, asnāviram etc. These are very important in order to show that one has to distinguish between karmas that take one down, because such karmas are pleasure-seeking motivated. There are karmas which lead to higher evolution because one seeks to transcend all sorrow through knowledge and devotion. These are important for evolution and liberation. There are karmas which are divine and do not produce any births. The divine personalities take births in order to liberate man. Karma does not condition birth but birth conditions karmas. These later do not come down to be subject to laws of karma-rebirth sequence at all. They may not elect to do any actions also—either divine or human. They can be perfect contemplatives—jñānins enjoying their samatva.

Their descent can only be through love—for to emancipate souls in suffering from their suffering. Such loving karma partakes of the divine nature, and can produce only happiness-sukha, because it is done with a prayer for the

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

welfare of all-lokāḥ samastāḥ sukhino bhavantu. It is a blessing.

The Bhāgavata-dharma also speaks of kaiṅkarya or service of waiting on God as the most perfect expression of karma dedicated to the Ultimate, seeking no return but love of God as an end in itself. Even the desire for liberation is surrendered because at that level one beholds God as the only object and Him in all. Na vā are patyuḥ kāmāya patiḥ priyo bhavati Ātmanastu kāmāya patiḥ priyo bhavati—Not for the sake of the husband is the husband dear but for the sake of the Self is the husband dear.

Such transfiguration happens when one seizes the inward divinity of dedicated activity of the higher lines.

Concluding, it can be said that biological conceptions are yet in their infancy in these matters of heredity and evolution. Spiritual truths have been discerned through revelation and śruti and not by reasoning or laboratory statements or even by dogmatic Christian or Islamic theologians who have not seriously weighed the testimony of the mystics. Perhaps there are hierarchical levels to which the denominational mystics belong who had kept certain realities of their experiences closed. An open mind can throw more light on the relationship between karma and rebirth, both higher and lower. It is an axiom of spiritual experience. It is a moral principle of responsibility. It does not abrogate at the human level the freedom of choice to do sacramental acts, or knowledge-acts or evil acts at all, with the responsibility of getting their deserts. But this is an integral conception also and it is in this sense that one should conceive of it. To deny its operation on the ground that it belongs to realm of māyā also is not to abolish it. Karma or dharma can transcend māyā also if not make use of it for liberation itself when one interiorises it or turns it on itself or upward even like the Kuṇḍalinī-kriyā.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

It is true that for one who is concerned only with liberation and jīvanmukti the results of karma and rebirth do not hold any terrors. It is not to be construed that the fear of rebirth is a great incentive to seeking liberation from all birth. It is perfectly clear that as Silenus the Satyr said to King Midas that the first best is not to be born, and the second best is to die at once. The significant meaning is that every one should seek to avoid rebirth by knowing the Ultimate nature of Oneself. The second best is to be understood as the renunciation of all and become a nothing (akiñcana) or a zero, and avadhūta who has thrown away all that make one deem himself to be living in the worldly sense of the term. Dying to possessions and even rights and duties. (sarvadharmān parityajya of the Gītā) is to die at once and this will prevent the formation of the next life itself. This is done by Śaraṇāgati, as the great Śaṭhakopa did show, and earned for himself the name of 'one who has destroyed and was the enemy of future births or the potency that makes for it (śaṭha). Swāmi Ishwarānanda's standpoint of not to trouble oneself with karma or rebirth but to attain the ultimate state is understandable, but not the support he tries to get from biology or the science and physiology of life.

REFERENCES

Bhagavad-Gītā.

Upaniṣads that deal with rebirth & birth. Īśa, etc.

Sri Aurobindo: Problem of Rebirth Karma and rebirth—higher lines of karma. Life Divine.

Annie Besant: Reincarnation.

Wincensy Lautoslavoski: Pre-existence and Reincarnation.

Plato's: Republic.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

WHAT ĀNANDAVARDHANA MEANT BY DHVANI?

By DR. CHANDIKĀPRASĀDA SHUKLA*

Ānandavardhana, the famous Kaśmīrian poet, critic and philosopher is considered as the propounder of *Dhvani-theory* in Sanskrit poetics. Setting aside all the opposite views, dispelling all the perplexities and confusions, he has finally and convincingly defined and described in all details the doubtless form and nature of Dhvani for delighting the minds of the connoisseurs. According to him *Dhvani is a species of poetry* wherein *the word and its primary meaning subordinate themselves to the suggested meaning.*[1]

Thus, Ānandavardhana introduced a particular kind of poetry, rather a hitherto unknown idea about poetry, to the world of connoisseurs and named it Dhvani. Throughout his *Dhvanyāloka* he has used the term Dhvani only in this very sense, viz., *a particular species of poetry.*[2]

---

*Sanskrit Department, University, Allahabad.

1. यत्रार्थः शब्दो वा तमर्थमुपसर्जनीकृतस्वार्थौ ।
व्यङ्क्तः काव्यविशेषः स ध्वनिरिति सूरिभिः कथितः ॥
—'ध्व० 1/13, K.S.S. edn. 1940.

2. (i) व्यङ्गयप्राधान्ये हि ध्वनिः'—ध्व० p. 108.

(ii) ननु ध्वनिः काव्यविशेष इत्युक्तम्'—Ibid. p. 300.

(iii) ध्वनिसंज्ञितः प्रकारः काव्यस्य व्यञ्जितः सोऽयम्।—Ibid. p. 458.

(iv) व्यङ्गयोऽर्थो ललनालावण्यप्रख्यो यः प्रतिपादितस्तस्य प्राधान्ये ध्वनिरित्युक्तम्—Ibid. p. 459.

(v) व्यङ्ग्यस्यार्थस्य प्राधान्ये ध्वनिसंज्ञितकाव्यप्रकारः गुणभावेतु गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यता—Ibid. p. 495.

(vi) तदयमत्र संग्रहः—"यस्मिन् रसो वा भावो वा तात्पर्येण प्रकाशते ।
संवृत्याऽभिहितौ वस्तु यत्रालंकार एव वा ॥
काव्याध्वनि ध्वनिर्व्यङ्ग्यप्राधान्यैकनिबन्धनः
सर्वत्र तत्र विषयी ज्ञेयः सहृदयैर्जनैः ॥ Ibid. p. 500.

(vii) ध्वनेरित्थं गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यस्य च समाश्रयात्
न काव्यार्थविरामोऽस्ति यदि स्यात् प्रतिभागुणः । Ibid. 4/6 etc.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

Mahimabhaṭṭa, the most ruthless and vigorous critic of the theory of Dhvani, taking Ānandavardhana's Dhvani only in this sense, viz., *a kind of poetry*, has criticised or refuted it and ultimately pleaded for its virtual inclusion into his pet Anumāna.[3] Mammaṭa, the celebrated exponent of the Dhvani school has also used the word Dhvani only in this sense, viz., *a particular kind of poetry* when he says:—"This (Poetry) is of the highest type when the suggested sense excells the expressed one. It is called 'Dhvani' by the wise."[4] And finally, Paḍita-Rāja Jagannātha, one of the greatest savants in Sanskrit poetics, has treated Dhvani to be the best kind (Uttamottama) of poetry and the suggested sense (Rasādi) to be its soul.[5]

Ānandavardhana has also given the authentic source of the nomenclature of Dhvani (the suggestive poetry). According to him it is based on the analogy of *'Dhvani-sphoṭa-theory'* of the grammarians. Just as the grammarians apply the term Dhvani to the sounds that suggest the eternal *'sphoṭa'*, so also, following them, the *connoisseurs of poetry apply the self-same term* Dhvani to such poetry (*Śabdārtha-yugala*) which suggests, and gives priority to its implied (*Pratīyamāna*) sense.[6] Following him Mammaṭa has also

---

3. (i) अनुमानेऽन्तर्भावं सर्वस्यैव ध्वनेः प्रकाशयितुम्।
व्यक्तिविवेकं कुरुते प्रणम्य महिमा परां वाचम्॥

(ii) तत्र ध्वनेरेव तावल्लक्षणं वक्तव्यं कोयं ध्वनिर्नामेति? तच्च ध्वनिकारेणैवोक्तम् तद् यथा 'यत्रार्थः शब्दो वा.....' एतच्च विविच्यमानमनुमानस्यैव संगच्छते नान्यस्य। (व्य० वि० 1)

4. इदमुत्तममतिशयिनि व्यङ्ग्ये वाच्याद् ध्वनिर्बुधैः कथितः।
(का० प्र० 1/4 etc.)

5. (i) अमुमेव च प्रभेदं ध्वनिमामनन्ति',

(ii) एवं.... ध्वनौ परमरमणीयतया 'रसध्वने स्तदात्मा रसस्तावदभिधीयते। (र० गं०—1)

6. ते च श्रूयमाणेषु वर्णेषुध्वनिरिति व्यवहरन्ति। तथैवान्यैस्तन्मतानुसारिभिः सूरिभिः काव्यतत्त्वार्थदर्शिभिर्वाच्यवाचकसम्मिश्रः शब्दात्मा काव्यमितिव्यपदेश्यो व्यञ्जकत्वसाम्याद् ध्वनिरित्युक्तः—ध्व० pp. 133-135.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

very lucidly expressed the same idea in his *Kāvyaprakāśa.*[7] It may, therefore, be concluded that to Ānandavardhana the word Dhvani etymologically (*vyutpattinimittatvena*) means suggestive (*Vyañjaka–Dhvanati=Vyanakti* etc.) and conventionally (*Pravṛttinimittatvena*) a particular kind of poetry, wherein the suggested sense has superiority over all other things conveyed thereby. Thus, taking his cue from Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya–'Tasmād Dhvaniḥ Śabdaḥ'*–Ānandavardhana seems to be proclaiming–*Tasmād Dhvaniḥ Kāvyam.'*

Now, the question naturally arises, "If Ānandavardhana has used the word Dhvani for only a particular kind of poetry, what would be the interpretation of the sentence *'Kāvyasyātmā Dhvaniḥ'* in the first verse of *Dhvanyāloka?* How can a particular kind of poetry be the soul of poetry? And since in the very next verse the author himself declares that the sense in the poetry appreciated by the critics (*Arthaḥ sahṛdayaślāghyaḥ*) is the soul of it, why must the word 'Dhvani' in *'Kāvyasyātmā Dhvaniḥ'*, to the exclusion of all else, not stand for the said *'sahṛdaya-slāghya-artha'* clarified later also as the suggested part of it in *'Kāvyasyātmā Sa evārthaḥ'* etc ?

The question may be solved thus:–The view "*Kāvyasyātmā Dhvaniḥ*" was already obtaining (*samāmnātapūrvaḥ*) amongst the critics of poetry long before Ānandavardhana, which meant that 'the real nature or form (Ātmā) of poetry consisted in Dhvani.' The word Ātmā has been very frequently used by Ānandavardhana as also by the authors of many other sciences (Śāstras) in the sense of 'body', 'form', 'nature', 'essence', 'essential nature' etc. as has been authoritatively testified by the *Amarakośa.*[8] So to those earlier cri-

---

7. बुधैर्वैयाकरणैः प्रधानभूतस्फोटरूपव्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकस्य शब्दस्य ध्वनिरिति व्यवहारः कृतः। ततस्तन्मतानुसारिभिरन्यैरपि न्यग्भावितवाच्यव्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जनक्षमस्य शब्दार्थयुगलस्य। का० प्र० 1.

8. आत्मा यत्नो धृतिर्बुद्धिः स्वभावो ब्रह्म वर्ष्म च। (अ० को० 3.3 109)

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

tics. Dhvani was the only poetry, nay—Dhvani stood as the very definition of poetry—'*Dhvaniḥ Kāvyam*'. Now, Ānandavardhana has only elaborated this already accepted view from all aspects, primarily dividing it into two forms or kinds in respect of (i) the primay and (ii) the secondary position of the suggested sense in it. When the suggested sense (Pratīyamāna) is primary, it is actually called Dhvani, and when it is secondary, it is named '*guṇībhūtavyaṅgya*'. Any composition other than these two kinds is not even entitled to be called a 'poetry'. It is no poetry, but only an imitation of it.[9]

And, as a matter of fact, the *guṇībhūtāvyaṅgya* also is a variety only inasmuch as the position of the first or immediate 'vyaṅgya' in it is concerned (which is there the secondary). Otherwise, taking the final *Rasādi Vyaṅgya* of it into account, this so-called *guṇībhūtavyaṅgya* variety will also be called only Dhvani.[10] It is only for this reason that the *guṇībhūtavyaṅgya* is said to be the derivative or offshoot (*Niṣyanda*) of Dhvani,[11] the very basis or the root of the guṇibhūtāvyaṅgya also being Dhvani and Dhvani alone. So also Paṇḍita-Rāja Jagannātha, putting the *guṇībhūtavyaṅgya* in his classification of the '*Uttama*' poetry, has indicated the presence of the element of Dhvani in it, and finally also named it "Dhvani."[12] Thus, the poetry is actually of only one kind and form, viz., 'Dhvani'. And it was this theme which was

---

9. 'प्रधानगुणभावाभ्यां व्यङ्ग्यस्यैवं व्यवस्थिते। उभे काव्ये, ततोऽन्यद् यत् तच्चित्रमभिधीयते.... ततोऽन्यद्रसभावादितात्पर्यरहितं व्यङ्ग्यार्थविशेषप्रकाशन-शक्ति-शून्यं च काव्यं केवलवाच्यवाचकवैचित्र्यमात्राश्रयेणोपनिबद्धमालेख्यप्रख्यं यदाभासते तच्चित्रम्। न तन्मुख्यं काव्यम्। काव्यानुकारो ह्यसौ'। ध्व० 3/41)

10. प्रकारोऽयंगुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्योऽपिध्वनिरूपताम्। धत्ते रसादितात्पर्यपर्यालोचनयापुनः।—ध्व० 3/40.

11. तदयंध्वनिनिष्यन्दरूपो द्वितीयोऽपि महाकविविषयोऽतिरमणीयो लक्षणीयः सहृदयैः—ध्व०—p. 474.

12. यत्र व्यङ्ग्यमप्रधानमेव सच्चमत्कारकारणं तद् द्वितीयम्॥ वाच्यापेक्षया प्रधानीभूतव्यंग्यान्तरमादाय गुणीभूतं व्यंग्यमादायातिव्याप्तिवारणायावधारणम्। तेन तस्य ध्वनित्वमेव—र० ग०, 1.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

so adroitly enunciated in the very first verse of the *Dhvanyāloka*.[13] This, in short, is the substance of Dhvani-theory.

At one place, Ānandavarhana himself very precisely concluding his discussions on the final *'Rasa'* in the poetry says, "Thus all classes of poetry do not cross the bounds of 'Dhvani'. In the event of a poet's requirement for the sentiments, etc. (*Rasādi*), even the class designated as *guṇībhūtavyaṅgya* comes only under the sphere of Dhvani, as has already been said. The fact that in quatrains of sweet Flattery and devotional hymns sentiments, etc. are subordinated and that in Prākṛta verses known as *Hṛdayavatī* and in some gnomic verses of worldly wise men, the expressed sense itself with an undercurrent of suggested content is strikingly important, as well proves the *Guṇībhūtavyaṅgya* to be only a derivative of 'Dhvani'. This, too, has been said before. Thus, when we strictly apply the new principle of poetry enunciated here, we can speak of *'Citra-Kāvya'* only in a loose way, only as an aid to the understanding and practising by beginners in the study of poetry. So, therefore, even *'Citra'* may well be treated as Kāvya for the beginners learning to compose, when (for their sake) an enunciation of the principles of poetry according to the modern poets is being made. But so far as persons with well-developed intellects are concerned, 'Dhvani' alone will deserve the title of poetry. Thus, the point is established."[14]

Ānandavardhana's actual analysis of the nature and fea-

---

13. ध्वनिः आत्मा (स्वरूपम् स्वभावो वा) काव्यस्य।

14. स्थिते चैवं सर्व एव काव्यप्रकारो न ध्वनिधर्मतामतिपतति रसाद्यपेक्षायां कवेर्गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यलक्षणोऽपि प्रकार स्तदङ्गतामवलम्बतइत्युक्तं प्राक्। यदा तु चाटुषु देवतास्तुतिषु वा रसादीनामङ्गतया व्यवस्थानं हृदयवतीषु च संप्रज्ञकगाथासु कासुचिद् व्यङ्ग्यविशिष्टवाच्ये प्राधान्यं तदपि गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यस्य ध्वनिनिष्यन्दभूतत्वमेवेत्युक्तं प्राक्। तदेवमिदानींतनकविकाव्यनयोपदेशे क्रियमाणे प्राथमिकानामभ्यासार्थिनां यदि परं चित्रेण व्यवहारः प्राप्तपरिणतीनां तु ध्वनिरेव काव्यमिति स्थितमेतत्।—(ध्व० p. 499)

F. 3

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

tures of 'Dhvani' starts from the second verse (kārikā) of the *Dhvanyāloka,* which rather forms only the introduction to the definition of Dhvani he intends to formulate.[15] Therein he makes a start towards his new theory with a universally accepted principle, viz., that *Sahṛdayas-lāghyā*' sense in the poetry is its soul'. But on further scrutiny the soul of poetry is found to be the suggested part of that sense, wherewith the expressed part of it also becomes charming (*Ślāghya*). (Suggested sense is the soul of Anadavarhana's Dhvani-theory. Now if he succeeds in proving the existence of the suggested sense, the Dhvani-theory will automatically get established). Thus the meaning in the poetry highly praised and designated as the soul of it by the *Sahṛdayas* has two parts. One is '*Vācya*' and the other is '*Pratīyamāna*'. The word Ātmā referred to in this second verse (kārikā) meaning soul is quite different from the Ātmā mentioned in *Kāvyasyātmā Dhvaniḥ*' in first Kārikā (where it means the 'form' or 'nature'). And, as a matter of fact, only this suggested sense, which shines forth like the charm or grace (*lāvaṇya*) in a beautiful maiden, is the soul of poetry. It is only on account of the association with this meaning that the poetry gets all its charm. Thus, through the first twelve kārikās of the first chapter of his *Dhvanyāloka,* Ānandavardhana, having proved very reasonably and convincingly the existence (*Sadbhāva*) and the superiority of the charmingness (*sadbhāva*) of the suggested sense to that of the expressed one, proceeds to define his 'Dhvani' in the thirteenth kārikā.[16] Now, neither prior to kārikā thirteen nor after it, he has ever erred in using the word

---

15. तत्र ध्वनेरेव लक्षयितुमारब्धस्य भूमिकां रचयितुमिदमुच्यते—
योऽर्थः सहृदयश्लाघ्यः काव्यात्मेतिव्यवस्थितः। वाच्यप्रतीयमानाख्यौ
तस्यभेदावुभौस्मृतौ।—ध्व० 1/2

16. एवं वाच्य व्यतिरेकिणो व्यङ्ग्यस्य सद्भावं प्रतिपाद्य प्रकृत उपयोज-यन्नाह्—XIII यत्रार्थः शव्दो वा .... etc,—ध्व० 1/13.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

'Dhvani' to stand for the suggested sense. After this kārikā, on the other hand, in which he has defined 'Dhvani' as a particular kind of poetry, he off-and-on, catagorically announces the suggested sense (in its all the three varieties of *'Vastu', Ālaṅkāra'*, and *Rasādi*) to be the soul of the very 'Dhravi'.[17] And in order that this suggested sense, the soul of Dhvani or poetry may be rightly understood, Ānandavardhana had to prove the inevitability of the power or function of the word known as *Vyañjanā*.

Besides, when he has once defined 'Dhvani', it has to be taken only accordingly throughout his treatise. Had he ever intended to use it otherwise, he would have clearly indicated that, or else his definition would suffer from *'Ativyāptī.'* But he has never missed any chance to remind us that to him Dhvani means only a kind of poetry and nothing else. For instance, in the very first chapter of his *Dhvanyāloka*, after having fittingly refuted the contentions of the *Abhāvavādins*, he concludes the existence of Dhvani, which is generally two-fold, viz., (i) where the denoted sense is not intended at all, and (ii) where it is intended but with a shifting emphasis on another i.e. the suggested sense.[18] Again, at one place he has very notably mentioned the word Dhvani in the sense of a particular kind of poetry when at the same time the two other words *Vyañjakatva* or *Vyañjanā* and *Vyaṅgya* used with it, carry the suggestive function and the suggested sense respectively.[19]

---

17. (i) ध्वन्यात्मभूते शृङ्गारे—Ibid. 2/15.

(ii) मुख्यतया प्रकाशमानोव्यङ्ग्योऽर्थोध्वनेरात्मा—Ibid. p. 174.

(iii) अस्यविवक्षितान्यपरवाच्यस्यध्वनेः संलक्ष्यक्रमव्यङ्ग्यत्वादनुरणन प्रख्यो य आत्मा सोऽपिशब्दशक्तिमूलोऽर्थशक्तिमूलश्चेतिद्विप्रकारः —Ibid. p. 235.

18. तदेवं ध्वनेस्तावदभाववादिनः प्रत्युक्ताः। अस्ति ध्वनिः। स चासावविवक्षितवाच्यो विवक्षितान्यपरवाच्यश्चेति द्विविधः सामान्येन—ध्व०, p. 136.

19. 'तदेवं शाब्दे व्यवहारे त्रयः प्रकाराः वाचकत्वं गुणवृत्तिर्व्यञ्जकत्वं च, तत्र व्यञ्जकत्वे यदा व्यङ्ग्यप्राधान्यं तदा ध्वनिः, तस्यचाविवक्षितवाच्यो विवक्षितान्यपरवाच्यश्चेति द्वौ प्रभेदावनुक्रान्तौ प्रथमतरं तौ सविस्तरं निर्णीतौ'—Ibid. p. 429.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

Similarily, it is also not worth the conjecture that Ānandavardhana should have ever used the word 'Dhvani' in the sense of *Vyañjanā-Vyāpāra*. While very forcefully rejecting the claim of *'Bhakti'* or *'Lakṣaṇā* for Dhvani he puts forth his most cogent reasons that the designation Dhvani applies to that piece of poetry where the words and the primary sense subordinate themselves to the *'Prayojana'*, which should excel the expressed sense in charm. Whereas *'Bhakti'* does not require these conditions. Mere superimposition (*Upacāra*) without any consideration of the charm arising from the cognition of the *'Prayojana'* would satisfy all the requirements of *'Bhakti'*.[20]

Thus, having discussed Dhvani in all details Ānandavardhana finally concludes that, "The variety of poetry known as Dhvani, which had become a source of controversy for long, because its real nature had eluded even the persons of the best intellect, has now been explained in this way.[21] Again in one of the versified colophons to his *Dhvanyāloka* the author has likened the Dhvani variety in poetry to the desire-fulfiilling (*Kalpa*) tree in the *Nandana garden*.[22] This, too , proves its being a particular kind of poetry and nothing else.

But now the question arises that if the Dhvanikāra has used the term Dhvani so unequivocally only in the sense of a particular kind of poetry, how and whence it began to be used for the *'Vaṅgya-artha'* and *'Vyañjanā-Vyā-*

---

20. भक्तया विभर्ति नैकत्वं रूपभेदादयं ध्वनिः—अयमुक्तप्रकारो ध्वनिर्भक्त्या नैकत्वं विभर्ति भिन्नरूपत्वात्। वाच्यव्यतिरिक्तस्यार्थस्य वाच्यवाचकाभ्यां तात्पर्येण प्रकाशनं यत्र व्यङ्ग्यप्राधान्ये स ध्वनिः। उपचारमात्रं तु भक्तिः।—ध्व०, p. 141.

21. "विमतिविषयो य आसीन् मनीषिणां सततमविदितसतत्त्वः।
ध्वनिसंज्ञितः प्रकारः काव्यस्य व्यञ्जितः सोऽयम् ॥—Ibid. p. 457.

22. काव्याख्येऽखिलसौख्यधाम्नि विबुधोद्यानेध्वनिर्दर्शितः।
सोऽयं कल्पतरूपमानमहिमा भोग्योऽस्ति भव्यात्मनाम्॥—Ibid. p. 55.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

pāra'. To find an answer to this we have to take recourse to some of the critics and commentators of *Dhvanyāloka*. First of all, Bhaṭṭanāyaka, the bitter critic of Dhvani, took Dhvani in the sense of '*Vyañjanā-vyāpāra* in as far as, according to him, in poetry Vyāyāra is superior[23] to its words and their senses, rather the very soul of it. So he partly rejects Dhvani, taking it to be the *Vyañjanā-Vyāpāra*[24] (perhaps because he interpreted the term Ātmā in Kāvyasyātmā Dhvaniḥ as 'soul'). Next, Abhinavagupta, the celebrated author of the commentary 'Locana' on Dhvanyāloka exerted much to interpret the term Dhvani in five several ways, viz. *Vaṅgyārtha, Vyañjanā-Vyāpāra,* etc. and, at the same time, also confessed the fact that in the text the term has been used only in one sense, viz., a particular kind of poetry.[25] These several interpretations of the term Dhvani by him appeaṛ to have been based on the great grammar-work Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari, from which Abhinavaguptā goes on quoting one or the other Kārikā to support them.

Thus to some extent on the testimony of Abhinava, and to another, due to their wrongly construing the term Ātmā, used in the first two kārikās of the *Dhvanyāloka* in one and the same sense (viz., 'soul'), even the great authors such as Bhoja,[26] Hemacandra,[27] and Viśwanātha[28] have missed the true

23. द्वयोर्गुणत्वे व्यापारप्राधान्ये काव्यगीर्भवेत्। (qnoted in Locana of ध्व० p. 87)

24. ध्वनिनर्मिापरो योऽपि व्यापारो व्यञ्जनात्मकः।
तस्य सिद्धेऽपि भेदे स्यात् काव्येशंत्वं न रूपता ।। (qnoted in Locana of ध्व० p. 31)

25. कारिकायां तु प्राधान्येन समुदाय एव काव्यरूपो मुख्यतया ध्वनिरिति प्रतिपादितम्। (Locana p. 106)

26. तात्पर्यमेव वचसि ध्वनिरेव काव्ये—शृ० प्र०

27. मुख्याद् व्यतिरिक्तः प्रतीयमानो व्यङ्ग्यो ध्वनिः। सच ध्वन्यते द्योत्यते इति ध्वनिरिति पूर्वाचार्यैः संज्ञितः—काव्यानुशासन

28. यच्च ध्वनिकारेणोक्तम्—'अर्थः सहृदयश्लाघ्यः . . . उभौ स्मृतौ, इति अत्र वाच्यात्मत्वं काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति स्ववचनविरोधादेवापास्तम्—स० द०—1.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

import of the term Dhvani in taking it to signify *'Vyaṅgyārtha* (Suggested sense). Consequently, in the parlance of later poeticians the term Dhvani is mostly or profusely used not in the sense of *'Vyañjaka Śabdārth'*, as it was originally propounded by the Dhvanikāra, but mainly in the sense of *Vyaṅgyārtha.* This delibrate or blindfold off-the-track mach of these hosts of scholars of Sanskrit poetics, all and sundry, misconstruing the term Dhvani as used in the Dhvanyaloka is none-the-less amusingly notable.

This is in brief the result of my study of a standpoint which perhaps had not been tackled so far.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

REVIEWS ON SOME ALLEGED CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA

By LAL MANI JOSHI*

The gradual decline and final disappearance of Buddhism in the land of its inception is perhaps the most tragic event in the annals of Indian Culture. It is a pity that not sufficient work has been done to throw light upon this important aspect of the history of Indian-Buddhism. A principal difficulty that comes on the way to attempting a comprehensive and connected account of this unfortunate incident is the paucity of epigraphic material and the silence of indigenous literature. This fact has given opportunity to some writers to speculate rather freely; and attempts are sometimes made to explain this baffling problem with the help of imagination and pre-conceived notions. It is, therefore, out of utter respect for historical truth and a dispassionate urge for well ascertained facts, that we propose to examine certain alleged causes of the decline of Buddhism in India.

In his paper captioned *"Influence of the Teachings of Buddha and the Causes of the Decline of Buddhism in India"*, published in the Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad[1] Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Umesha Mishra has advanced certain views which deserve a careful attention.

"The Buddha", he says, "did not care to make any selection in his audience".[2] A majority of persons who were "not at all qualified", being "over-powered by sentiment and emotion" made "thoughtless mass renunciations".[3] There was

* Lecturer, Department of Ancient History, University, Gorakhpur.

1. Vol. IX. Part I, 1951, pp. 111—122.
2. P. 111.
3. PP. 111-12.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

"no test of fitness of the disciples"[4] and the "admission to the order was not restricted."[5] The teachings were delivered "to all without any consideration of their fitness."[6] All this resulted in confusion and contributed to the decline of Buddhism in India.

It is extremely difficult to be at one with Dr. Umesha Mishra so far as the above statements are concerned. It is noteworthy that he does not substantiate his views by any kind of literary or epigraphic evidence.

To say that Buddha did not make any selection of his disciples from among his hearers and delivered his sublime teachings to all and sundry, without taking note of the latter's mental equipment and cultural standards, is absolutely wrong.

Those who have read the Pāli canon or any of the ancient or modern biographies of Buddha, know that the Exalted one was at first very reluctant to broadcast his spiritual experiences to the world at large. Because, to quote his own sublime language: "The Truth (Dhamma) that I have realised, is profound, hard to see, hard to understand, excellent, pre-eminent, beyond the reach of thought, subtle, and to be penetrated by the wise alone" and "This world of men is attached to the things of the world, is given to habits.... So that it is difficult to them to grasp it (i.e. the Truth, the Doctrine, the Dhamma".[7] So Buddha decided not to teach at all. Thought he: "If I were to teach them Truth, they would not understand, and that would be labour in vain for

4. P. 115.
5. P. 112.
6. P. 118.
7. *Mahāvagga,* Nālandā Devanāgarī Pāli Series, Edited by Bhikkhu J. Kashyap, 1956, p. 6. (It may be noted that this Devanāgarī Edition of the Pāli Tipiṭaka has been utilised in these pages).

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

me."[8] This shows that Buddha knew that the large mass of humanity is stupid and material minded, given to creature-comforts, the ideal of Nibbāṇa was beyond their ken.[9] Thereupon, Brahmā, the god Sahampati, appeared and begged the Blessed One to preach the Truth for the sake of those "whose eyes are but little clouded with dust" and who will "perish through not hearing the Truth."[10] The Blessed One, yielding to the prayer of Brahmā, out of compassion, beheld with the Buddha-eye, "beings of sharp wits and beings of dull wits; beings of good and beings of evil natures". So he proceeded to Sārnāth (Isipattana) to make the Truth known and to open the doors of the Immortal to those who had receptive eye.[11] Can we think, after reading these passages, that Buddha was careless in selecting his audience? The fact that he thought of converting at first only such eminent sages like Ārāḍa Kālāma, Rudrak Rāmaputta or the five ascetics who had been once his companions, further points to Buddha's great care to teach only to the fittest and the most qualified persons.[12]

The Buddha and his eminent disciples had a first hand grasp of human nature, human psychology and behaviour. How can we say that they delivered the subtle and deep doctrines "to all without any consideration of their fitness"? Buddha knew that "the ignorant are far greater in number than those that are wise."[13] He was aware that "a learned talk looks vain to an ignorant, and a talk of wisdom looks vain to a fool."[14] We have no reason to think that Buddha

8. *Ibid.,* loc. cit.

9. *Ibid.,* loc. cit.

10. *Ibid.,* p. 7.

11. *Ibid.,* pp. 8-9.

12. *Ibid.,* p. 10: Lalitavistara, ed. by P. L. Vaidya, B.S.T. No. 1 Darbhanga, 1958, p. 295.

13. *Aṅguttara Nikāya,* Vol. I, p. 35.

14. *Ibid.,* Vol. II, pp. 430-31.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

did not act according to such deep insight into human nature, and that he admitted every foolish and worldy person to his Order. The *Lalitavistara* records that Buddha was always in search of the pure, the able, the gentle, the learned and such persons as had subdued their fetters like the ill-will, attachment and ignorance.[15]

That Buddha did not talk of discipline and doctrine in an assembly or multitude of men where bad persons or non-qualified persons were sitting, is made clear by an illustration recorded in the *Cullavagga*. When Ānanda requested him to recite the *Pātimokkha* to the monks, the Lord said that he would not do so in an assembly attended by a man who was not pure. The impure person was turned out by Moggallāna ere the Lord recited the *Pātimokkha*.[16]

That admissions to the order were restricted and definite rules of ordination were laid down is evident from the *Mahāvagga*. We have no reason to doubt that Buddha and his early disciples strictly followed the rules of conferring Pabbajjā and Upasaṁpadā. A Bhikkhu had to bring a formal resolution before the Saṅgha that such and such person was willing to get ordination under such and such teacher. Persons with disease were not admitted; persons below the age of twenty were not ordained; a boy who had not obtained his parent's sanction was also not admitted; likewise a runaway from the army was also not ordained.[17]

The provision of the Nissaya shows that the newly admitted monks were subjected to strict guardianship under some noble elder.[18]

---

15. *Lalitavistara*, B.S.T. No. 1, p. 295.
16. *Cullavagga*, p. 353 ff.
17. *Mahāvagga*, p. xiii, and pp. 76, 87 etc.
18. *Cullavagga*, p. 12 ff.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

The *Anaṅgaṇa* and the *Vattha Suttas* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*[19] prove beyond doubt that Buddha and his great disciples were very careful in matters of conversion and ordination, and did not allow any 'thoughtless mass renunciations'. The contention that there was 'no test of the fitness of the disciples' therefore, is not borne out by any evidence whatsover. This is further corroborated by the *Assapura Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* which enumerates the "tests of the fitness" or the qualications required in a disciple. They are, among other things, fear and shame from committing evil, purity of livelihood, sense-control, mind-fulness and awakefulness and so forth."[20]

Nor is it correct to say that people joined the order by "being over-powered by sentiment and emotion" and merely out of respect for the superb personality of Buddha. Buddha had been continually warning against such hasty steps. It is a universally recognised fact that Buddhism was from the very beginning cirtical and rational in its spirit and attitude.[21] It has been well said that "Lord Buddha was an intellectual giant and a rationalist above anything else.'[12] The *Vīmaṅsa Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* proves that Buddha condemned the blind faith, and did not allow people to accept his gospel out of reverence for him, and warned them to be cautious in selecting their teacher.[23] The *Kesamutti sutta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* further demonstrates that Buddha was not in favour of winning disciples unless the latter were satisfied and had considered his teaching quite critically. He asked the Kālāmas

19. *Majjhima Nikāya*, Vol. I, pp. 33 ff., 49 ff.

20. *Majjhima Nikāya*, Vol. I, Suttas 30—40, pp. 333—343.

21. See, e.g. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, pp. 358-59; M. Hiriyanna, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 143-44, S. N. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 82.

22. S. Mookerjee, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux*, 1935, p. xi.

23. *Majjhima Nikāya*, Vol. I, Sutta 47, p. 389 ff.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

not to be carried away by hear-say, tradition, scriptural authority, argumentation, teacher's greatness etc., but to employ their own reasoning and to decide by their own conviction.[24] As late as the eighth century A.D. Kamalaśīla is affirming the same rational call of Buddha which we have in the following *ipse-dixit* by the Blessed One: "Just as people test the purity of gold by burning it in fire, by cutting it and by examining it on a touchstone, likewise, you must, Bhikṣus, accept my words after critically examining them and not out of respect for me."[25] The same attitude of rational approach and self reliance is reflected in the oft-quoted *ipse-dixit* by the Buddha, viz., "seek refuge in thyself; seek not other refuge."[26]

The view that the same subtle and sublime teachings were delivered by Buddha "to all without any consideration of their fitness", is quite untenable. This view is controverted by the unanimous tradition of the Mahāyāna Buddhists all the world over. According to this tradition Buddha taught many things to many people, various kinds and categories of doctrines to various kinds and categories of men and women. To the ordinary folk, he taught general ethical principles and expounded ways and means (upāya) so that they may lead a nobler and holier life. To the select few, the elite of society, who were intellectually alive and spiritually advanced, he taught subtler and deeper principles, transcendental doctrines, by grasping which they could realise the highest truth and attain to the Eternal.[27]

---

24. *Aṅguttara Nikāya,* Vol. I, p. 174 ff.

25. *Tattva-Saṅgraha-Pañjikā,* G.O.S., Baroda, Vol. I, p. 12.

26. *Dīgha Nikāya,* Vol. III, pp. 46, 61.

27. See, e.g., *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* Sūtra, ed. by P. L. Vaidya, BST No. 6, Darbhanga, 1960, Chapter 2; *Sekoddeśa Ṭīkā,* G.O.S., Baroda, pp. 3-4; R. Kimura, "*The Terms Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna* etc.," in the Journal of the Deptt. of Letters, Cal. University Vol. XII, pp. 47, 57 ff; Lal Mani Joshi, *Development of Mahāyāna Buddhism,* S. N. M. Tripathi Felicitation Volume (Hindi), Varanasi, 1965.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

That this was a matter of fact is revealed by certain passages in the Pāli Canon itself. To the Five Ascetics at Sārnātha he taught the abstruse doctrine of Paṭṭiccasamuppāda, and to the house-holders he taught ethical precepts universal in application.[28]

One of our most trustworthy authorities, namely, I-tsing, also testifies to this fact. Speaking of Buddha's activities he says, "When He preached to the lay followers he expressed himself in a concise form, and taught the five prohibitive precepts (pañchaśīla) only. But in instructing the priests exclusively, He fully explained the purport of the seven skandhas (i.e. groups) of offences."[29] It is evident that Buddha did not deliver identical teachings to both the ordinary persons and the selected few. He taught different things to different persons; he knew that men vary with respect to their abilities. Therefore, "Whenever one came in person to the Great Master, his teaching was of one kind; and when the Master desired to teach and save people according to their abilities, he would lay aside those arguments which were most adopted to another."[30]

To say that "no importance was ever attached to the Karmakṣetra of Uruwelā"[31] is also perhaps not quite true. The *Saṃ vejanīya Sutta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* clearly mentions the four places to be visited by every monk in order to be inspired. They are; where Buddha was born, where he attained to Enlightenment, where he turned the Wheel of the Law, and where he got Mahāparinirvāṇa.[32]

---

28. F. L. Woodward, *Some sayings of the Buddha*, London, pp. 6, 7f. note and pp. 150-51.

29. J. Takakusu, *A record of the Buddhist Religion etc.* by I-tsing, Oxford, 1896, pp. 4-5.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

32. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, Vol. I, p. 126.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

Uruvelā is quite close to the Bodhi-Tree, on the Nairañjarā, and must have been regularly visited by those who went to the Bodhi-Tree. This is testified to by Yuan Chwang who himself visited the site on account of its sanctity and importance.[33] It was at this very Tīrtha that the three famous Kāśyapa brothers (Tebhātika Jaṭṭilas) were ordained by Buddha.[34] Next, Dr. Umesha Mishra argues that two "main features" which contributed to the decline of Buddhism in India were that the Buddhists introduced Pāli language and hated the Sanskrit language.[35]

It is true that Buddha and his early disciples preached through a non-Sanskrit language. They did so because they wanted to make the people understand, to make the sermons easily intelligible and non-technical.[36] This could be best done through a non-Sanskrit language, because Sanskrit in those days was not the *lingua-franca* of the country. The purpose of adopting Pāli or Ardha-Māgadhī was to propagate the Dhamma as widely as possible. Therefore, Buddha said "I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to learn the word of Budda each in his own dialect.[37] The Bhikkhus or the people in general would not have enjoyed such freedom as they did, in learning and grasping the teachings, had the latter been delivered in Vedic Sanskrit which was at this time the language of the scholasts and the Brahmanical priests

33. Thomas Watters, *On Yuan-Chwang's Travels in India* reprint, 1960, Vol. II, p. 127.

34. *Mahāvagga,* p. 25; cf. also G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names,* 1960, reprint, Vol. I, p. 435.

35. P. 122.

36. In fact, as G. C. Pande points out (*Studies in the Origins of Buddhism,* Allahabad, 1957, p. 412) it was characteristic of Buddha to deliver his teachings in a non-technical way.

37. *S.B.E.*, Vol. XX, p. 150; Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature,* Vol. II, p. 601, Thomas, *Life of Buddha,* p. 253.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

only. The introduction of Pāli, therefore, cannot be regarded as the cause of the decline of Buddhism.

The inscriptions of the Mauryas are inscribed in Pāli or a form of Prākṛit, the script being the Brāhmī. They are royal dictates and administrative measures, meant to be read by the people at large. They had been written in a non-Sanskrit language which was spoken by the majority people of that age. Had they been written in Sanskrit, they would not have been understood by the majority of people, whose good was the cherished ideal of Aśoka. He therefore, got his orders inscribed in the language of the people. But he would indeed be a bold man who would say that one of the cuases of the decline of the Maurya Empire was its adoption of a non-Sanskrit language and use of Pāli!

Further more, it is well known that the cannonical writings and commentaries of the Jainas are written in a non-Sanskrit language, viz., the Prākrit or old Mahārāṣṭrī.[38] But if we adopt Dr. Mishra's criterion, viz., the adoption of a non-Sanskrit language resulting in the decline of a religion, how are we to account for the continued existence and progress of Jainism in India all through the ages?

Let us now turn to the second "feature" quoted above. Is it a fact that the Buddhists hated Sanskrit language? No sincere student of Ancient Indian Culture or of Sanskrit Literature, can answer this question in the affirmative. One can say with an air of authority and without any fear of contradiction that, the disciples of Śākyamuni were responsible, to a great extent, to develop Sanskrit, to enrich its wealth, and to prolong its life in India. They were the first in India to open great colleges and inter-national universities like that of Nālandā, where Sanskrit language and its

38. Winternitz, op. cit., Volume II, p. 427.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

grammar were taught regularly.[39] They were thus instrumental in diffusing Sanskrit language in and outside India. As early as the second century B.C. the Buddhists had started writing their scriptures and commentaries there upon, in Sanskrit; the Sarvāsti-Vādins had Sanskrit as the medium of their literary activities; it was through Sanskrit that the enormous literary activities were carried on in the Third Council in about the first century A.D. All the Mahāyāna Sūtras and Śāstras are written in Sanskrit; all great Doctors and sages of Buddhism, from Nāgārjuna (cir. B.C. 80—120 A.D.),[40] down to Śāntarakṣita (800 A.D.) and Vidyākaraśānti (1200 A.D.) were Paṇḍits of Sanskrit, worte and taught and thought in Sanskrit; Aśvaghoṣa, the author of the *Buddhacarita* and other works, Āryasūra, the author of the *Jātakamālā* and other works, and Śāntideva, the author of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and other works—to mention only the most brilliant of Buddhist Sanskrit poets, are next to none in their literary excellence and poetical compositions. They are among the brightest luminaries in the firmament of Sanskrit literature. It is needless to point out more instances of the Buddhists' love of, and contribution to, Sanskrit language and literature; they are too numerous to enumerate.

Yet still another cause of the decline of Buddhism in India, according to Dr. Mishra was that, they "always cherished the idea of belonging to a separate culture and even civilization. They did not like those who followed the Varṇāśramadharma."[41] Unfortunately, Dr. Mishra does

39. Watters, op. cit. II, p. 165; *Life of Hiuan Tsiang,* transl. Beal, p. 112, Takakusu, op. cit., Chapter XXXIV, pp. 167 ff. For details see Lal Mani Joshi, 'Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India During the 7th and 8th Centuries A.D.' (*Doctoral Dissertation*), Chapter on '*Buddhist Education and its Centres*'.

40. See Lal Mani Joshi, '*Life and Times of the Mādhyamika Philosopher Nāgārjuna;* 'Maha Bodhi Journal, Vol. 73, 1965, Nos. 1-2.

41. P. 120.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

not cite even a single instance from any ancient or medieval Indian source wherein the Buddhists are seen as regarding themselves as belonging to a non-Bhāratīya or non-Indian culture and thought. It may well be questioned if there existed at all any such idea among ancient Indians which discriminated one "culture and civilization" from another "culture and civilization" in the modern sense of these terms. True it is, that the Buddhists regarded the non-Buddhists as 'heretics' just as the Brahmanical followers regarded their opponents as 'heretics' or 'nāstikas'. But it is untenable that the lay Buddhists "kept themselves aloof from the society"[42] because they tried to live as a "separate and independent class". Of course, the community of Bhikkhus had been a separate class, aloof from society.[43]

To say that Buddha and his disciples disliked those who followed the Varṇāśramadharma is not true. It is however, true that Buddha and the Buddhists (i.e. the monks in the present case) did not recognise the Brahmanical scheme of class-distinction and discrimination based on birth, colour, and occupation. They did challenge the validity of those texts of Brahmanism which sought to give a divine authority to the fiction of the origin of castes (Varṇa, 'jāti') out of the Primeval Man. This was but natural for the followers of the greatest humanist and rationalist as the Sage of the Śākyas had been. But neither he nor his early disciples ever went to the extent of disliking or hating those who did not follow Buddhism or who practised the Brahmanical code in their daily life. Indeed, the lay followers of Buddhism were never free from, or against the bonds of the Varṇa-organization; but it is not known from any source that the Buddhist monks "hated" the Bud-

---

42. P. 122.

43. See *Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol.* II, p. 480 where Buddha regards the whole country as the field of his mission.

F. 5

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

dhist laity for the latter's attachment to the Brahmanical Varṇa-Organization.

A large number of the most distinguished disciples of Buddha came from Brahmin families; people belonging to Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra classes had always been the patrons and alms-givers the Buddhist monks. This would not have been the case if the Buddhists had disliked them because they lived their lives and conducted their social and economic affairs according to the Brahmanical Dharma-Śāstras—the authorities for Varṇāśramadharma. At any rate, there is no evidence to prove the Buddhist's dislike or hatred towards the followers of the Varṇāśramadharma.

On the contrary, however, we can cite very many examples from ancient Indian literature, and even from the accounts of foreign writers, of the hostility and hatred of the Brahmanical followers—the champions of the Varṇāśramadharma towards Buddha and the Buddhists. To what extent the Brāhmaṇas disliked and hated the great Buddha is illustrated by an incident recorded in the cannon itself, wherein we notice that Buddha did not get even a grain of food in the village of the Brāhmaṇas even though he begged all the day from door to door.[44]

In the *Kāsībhāradvāja Sutta* of the Khuddaka Nikāya we find Brāhmaṇa Bhāradvāja chiding and abusing Buddha;[45] while in the *Vasala Sutta* of the same Nikāya another Brāhmaṇa, Aggika Bhāradvāja by name, is reviling Buddha and calling him an outcaste.[46] In the *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, the haughty and proud Brāhmaṇas

44*Sañyutta Nikāya*, Vol. I, Piṇḍ Sutta, p. 113.
45. *Khuddaka Nikāya*, Vol. I, p. 280 ff.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 287 ff; cf. DPPN. Vol. II, p. 844.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

are seen showing ingratitude towards Buddha.[47] Likewise, in the *Ambaṭṭha sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* we find that the Brāhmaṇas are arrogating to themselves a higher and superior place even to the ascetics of high order.[48] In the *Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta* we see that the Brahmanical hostility towards Buddha was so great that even after being fully convinced of the greatness of Buddha, Soṇadaṇḍa hesitates to salute him in public, lest his community might take him to task.[49] It is not possible within this short paper, to multiply such examples. But it is evident that Brāhmaṇas were displeased by, and hostile to Buddha and his disciples, because some of the teachings of Buddha ran counter to the Brahmanical sacrificildom, their prestige and social privileges which they guarded so jealously. It should however be emphasised that it was only in the Buddhist Brotherhood (Saṅgha) that a person had to give up his privileges and other cognate things granted to him by the Varṇavyavasthā. But outside the Saṅgha or in society in general, neither Buddha nor his disciples seem to have interfered with Varṇāśramadharma. In later days, however, when the theological disputes and doctrinal controversies between the Buddhists and the Brahmanical followers assumed a serious form, the polemical works of each school, often ridiculed and attacked the doctrines and practices of their rival schools. But even at that stage, viz., the age of Kumārila and Śāntarakṣita, for instance, there is no evidence to prove that the Buddhists disliked the innocent non-Buddhists merely because the latter followed the Varṇāśramadharma. The Buddhists criticised only those that had attacked their doctrines, they did not criticise everyone who followed the Varṇāśramadharma. Before we close this discussion we must refer to, and examine

47. *Majjhima Nikāya,* Vol. I, p. 3 ff.
48. *Dīgha Nikāya,* Vol. I, p. 76 ff.
49. *Ibid.,* p. 97 ff.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

the truth of, the conclusion arrived at by Dr. Mishra. He says that "the ultimate result of the teachings of the Buddha was disappointment in Society and chaos in the Order.[50] There has perhaps never been a meaner estimate of the effects of Buddha's teachings; truly has it been said that, Buddha's "Teaching was a call for the More of Life, and not to the ending of it.[51] The message of Buddha aimed at the Enlightenment of all beings, and who can say, how many beings have attained to that Enlightenment by following in the foot-steps of Buddha?

That Teaching, which was "Benign in the beginning, Benign in the middle and Benign in the end"[52] cannot be said to have resulted in 'disappointment and chaos'. Neither sober history justifies such an assertion, nor any historian worth the name, can ever adduce any argument to support such a view. The Blessed One and his incomparable band of self-abnegating disciples, worked and preached" for the profit of the many, for the bliss of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the welfare, the profit, the bliss of the devas and mankind."[53]

The greatest of kings in all history, who was next only to Buddha in uplifting the miserable mass of humanity, gave, in our view, the final and irrefutable verdict of history when

---

50. *Ibid.*, P. 117.

51. Christmas Humphreys, Buddhism, Pelican books, A 229, revised edition, London, p. 13.

52. *Mahāvagga,* p. 23.

53. cf. I-tsing's *Record,* op. cit., p. 3-4 : "when our sage first attained to Buddhahood on the Dragon River (i.e. Nairañjanā) the nine classes of beings began to entertain hopes of emancipation. Then the removal of the Light to the Dear Park (mṛigadāva near Vārāṇasī) brought satisfaction to the religious cravings of the six paths of existence." Takakusu, *ibid.*, Note, 3, explains these 'six paths of existence' as follows: human beings, Devas, Pretas (Spirits), the brute creation (Tviyagyoni), Asuras, and hells (?). See also the *Mahāvagga,* p. 23; and *Lalitavistara,* p. 301.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

he declared that "what ever the Blessed Buddha had uttered, all that had been well uttered."[54] Buddha "taught for forty five years the beauty of charity and the joy of renunciation, the need for simplicity and equality"—the ideals that higher humanity has always cherished and that India of Buddha's time needed most. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the most famous Hindu Philosopher of our age, gladly admits the fact that Buddha "came to fulfil, not to destroy", and "In a sense the Buddha is a maker of modern Hinduism."[55]

The learned world knows that Buddhism produced, in course of its long history, some of the subtlest metaphysics known to the history of thought; some of the supremest ethics yet presented to mankind; some of the noblest literature and much of the world's greatest art. Buddha's lasting contribution to Indian culture in particular, and to the world culture in general, has never been equalled before or since. Buddha's wholsome legacy looms large in every fibre of the nerves of Indian culture. He has been the Light of Asia, and remains to this day, the foremost Prophet of Peace all the world over. "Even if judged only by his posthumous effects on the world at large he was certainly the greatest man to have been born in India."[56]

In conclusion, we can only say that the paradox of the decay of Buddhism in India cannot be resolved by speculative causes nor by under-estimating the worth of the teachings of Śākya Muni.

---

54. *Aśoka, Bhābrū Edict.*

Cf. *Śikṣā Samuccaya,* Bendall's Edition, p. 15; P. L. Vaidya's Ed., page 12.

55. S. Radhakrishnan, Foreword to 2500 years of Buddhism, Publications Division, Delhi, reprinted 1959, pp. XV-XVI.

56. A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That was India,* Grove Press edition, New York, 1954, p. 256.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

he declared that "what ever the Blessed Buddha has uttered is all that had been well uttered".[1] Buddha 'taught our forefathers the beauty of charity and the joy of renunciation, the need for simplicity and equality'—the ideals that the Indian humanitarians always cherished and that India of Buddha's time needed most. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the great modern Hindu Philosopher of our ages, said, "almost the last thing the Buddha wanted did not to desire",[2] and "in a sense the Buddha is a maker of modern Hinduism".[3]

The learned world knows that Buddhism produced, in course of its long history, some of the subtlest metaphysics known to the history of thought, some of the supremest ethics ever presented to mankind, some of the noblest literature and much of the world's greatest art. Buddha's lasting contribution to Indian culture in particular and to the world culture in general, has never been equalled before or since. Buddha's indelible legacy looms large in every fibre of the nerves of Indian culture. He has been the Light of Asia and remains to this day the foremost Prophet of Peace the world over. Even if judged only by his enormous effects on the world at large, he was certainly the greatest man to have been born in India.[4]

In conclusion, we can only say that the paradox of the decay of Buddhism in India cannot be resolved by speculative causes nor by under-estimating the worth of the teachings of Śākya Muni.

---

1. [illegible] Bhabru Edict.
2. [illegible] Buddha's Edition, p. [illegible]
3. S. Radhakrishnan, Foreword to 2500 Years of Buddhism, Publications Division, Delhi, reprinted 19[illegible], p. XV-XVI.
4. A. L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, Grove Press edition, New York, 1959, p. 260.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

KĀLĪ AS A METAPHYSICAL CONCEPT IN THE KRAMA SYSTEM OF KASHMIR SHAIVISM*

By NAVJIVAN RASTOGI, M.A.

Research Student, Lucknow University†

The Krama System is a sister development of the main monistic trend of Kashmir Śaivism known as Trika or Pratyabhijñā. Despite various agreements[1] there is a basic difference of attitudes discernible at the first sight. While Pratyabhijñā is pure metaphysics, Krama is predominantly mystical in tone. The latter posits Kālī or Kāla--Saṁkarṣiṇī as the ultimate principle and highest category of experience. But the texts dealing with the concept of Kālī are so shrouded in mystic symbolism and esoteric phraseology that it becomes an assiduous task to distil the metaphysics of Kālī from them. However, an attempt is made in the following pages.

The concept of Kālī in the Krama system directly refers to the notion of time (Kāla) which is synonymous with that of succession (Krama) in the system. It may prove interesting to note that the Sanskrit word Kālakrama is dissolved here not as 'succession of time' (कालस्य क्रमः) but as "succession known as time (कालाख्यः क्रमः). The word Kāla has been derived and explained in terms of one which can determine a category experience.[2] This Kāla as Krama furnishes a logical background for the metaphysical undertones of the concept of Kālī.

---

* Contributed to the 22nd Session, All India Oriental Conference, Gauhati, 1965.

† Raja Bazar, Lucknow.

1. *M.M.P.*, p. 96.

2. येन कलति क्षिपति परिच्छिनत्ति स कालः *I.P.V.V.* III, p. 5.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

The Krama notion of Kālī has been widely influenced by the concept of time-force (कालशक्ति) in Bhartṛhari's system. This reference to Kāla-Śakti is particularly relevant in view of Kālī's reckoning as Mahā-Kāla-Śakti[3] in the Krama system. Two types of Kāla-Śakti are envisaged here, e.g., Krama-Kāla Śakti which has a mundane and nescient field of activity and the Akrama-Kāla Ś'akti which operates at a metemperical plane. Both partake of the nature of Kālī.[4] Agnihotra Shastri, the celebrated author of a brilliant commentary on the *cidgagana-Candrikā*, an important text of the system, has deduced the equation of Kāla-Śakti and Kāla Saṁkarṣiṇī.[5] It may of course, be pointed out that the concept of Kālī is more extensive than that of Kāla śakti which is but an aspect of the former. It appears that by conceiving Kālī as ultimate reality the glory of grammarians' Kāla-Śakti, which was relegated to a subordinate position in the *Trikā,* has been restored. This point has not escaped the notice of the Krama authors who have identified Kāla--Śakti with Gocarī,[6] a later state of emergence of Kālī. Even in the Kula branch of Kashmir Śaiva monism the same view has been echoed.[7]

Abhinavagupta, the great savant of the entire Kashmir thought has admitted the debt of Bhartṛhari and largely drawn on him for his concepts of Kāla-Śakti and Krama etc.[8] For Bhartṛhari the particular order seen in the transformation of the highest universal into the discrete bits of being as particular universals and individuals characterised thereby is due to the influence of Kāla-Śakti, the most fundamental

3. *C.G.C.* (Comm.), I, p. 47.
4. *Ibid.,* p. 48.
5. *Ibid.,* p. 133.
6. *C.G.C.* 2. 34.
7. *P.T.V.,* p. 246
8. *I.P.V.V.* II, pp. 8-9; III, p. 9.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

of the Lord's powers, which is also called Krama-Śakti driving home the fact that it is the sole source of succession.[9] The duality of functions sty'ed as control (प्रतिबन्ध) and command (अनुज्ञा) is intrinsic to Kāla-Śakti and ensures the continuity of causal forces in projecting and withholding the empirical phenomena of succession.[10]

But a Kāla-Śakti in the Trika is a narrower concept though it continues to be an integral aspect of the Reality-Absolute and is poised for bringing out the multifarious phenomena as cut off from one another.[11] thus giving rise to succession. From it ensues time, which is but succession that serves to condition an object.[12] Succession or time is a source of diversity in action and accounts for the ostensible plurality of phenomena. On the other hand the transcendental dynamism of the Absolute is free from temporal or spatial succession. This time-force is essentially an aspect of the Absolute Freedom.

Bhartṛhari's concept of Kāla-Śakti goes very far to shape the notion of Kālī in the Krama system. Consequently, Kālī too is an illustration of essential dynamism of Reality. Kālī as such, as we shall see, is not a plural concept yet we must admit an idea of logical succession to account for the order of the world. Because in *Krama* the duality is conceptual and is occasioned by the ultimate dynamicity.

The entire metaphysics of Kālī revolves round the twin concepts of Kāla and *Kalana,* the latter being more funda-

---

9. *Vāk.* 2. 22 and 4. 1. 37.
10. *Ibid.,* 3. 9. 30.
11. *I.P.K.* 2.1.2.
12. इयमेव भगवतः भर्तुः कलनक्रिया। एतदेव च भावोपाधिभूतस्य क्रमात्मनः कालस्य आनिष्क्रिष्यमाणस्य आविष्करणसामर्थ्यम्। I.P.V.V., III, p. 10.

F. 6

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

mental. The various attempts directed to explain the word Kālī[13] will bear this out.

Below we propose to consider several significations of the word Kālī bringing to light some broad aspects of the ultimate category.

I. Kālī has been identified with Śakti—"It operates" (कलयति). "It operates" means that it reacts intellectually, throws out, creates, withdraws, counts and knows.[14] Abhinavagupta following Bhūtirāja[15] traces the word to the root *Kala*.[16] Kālī owes its name to its activity called Kalana (कलन). The root *Kala* is employed in four senses, namely pushing on, movement, counting and sound (क्षेप, गति, संख्यान and शब्द respectively). Gati again gives two more meanings e.g., acquisition (प्राप्ति) or apprehension (ज्ञान).[17] Abhinavagupta elsewhere adds two more to the list e.g., enjoying and merging back of one's empirical personality into the self.[18] Each word here represents a technical concept. *Kramaṇa* and *Kalana* are synonymous in this respect. The ultimate principle acquired the name of Kālī or Kāla-Saṁkarṣiṇi for its potency to effect all to five sorts of *Kalna*.[19] They are intrinsically vivid aspects of the supreme dynamism. Al-

---

13. Wherever the word Kālī occurs in plural number i.e., कालिका it covers the variety of forms assumed by the absolute for self-expression in specific realm. They retain their identity with the ultimate agency and owe their emanation to purposive urgencies.

14. कलयति परामृशति क्षिपति विसृजति संहरति गणयति जानीते। शक्तिरित्यर्थः। "काली ग्रस्यते क्षिपति च सृजति जगदिति काली पराशक्तिरिति। *Saivāṣṭaka Kośa* MS. No. 69/E-1, Folio 39 & 123 respectively (J. & K. Govt. Library, Srinagar).

15. *T.S.*, p. 30.
16. *T.A.V.*, II, p. 235.
17. *Ibid.*, III, p. 204 and *M.P.* (T), 9. 39—47.
18. *T.S.*, p. 30.
19. *T.A.*, 4. 173.
20. *Ibid.*, 4. 174.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

though it creats order yet it is not imperative for it to toe down to a specific order. It may, therefore, be posited that Kālī is but कलनकर्तृत्व.

The external emanation of self is *Kṣepa*. Whatever was hitherto latent in it as identical with it is driven out as universe constituted by cognising subject, objects of cognition and means thereof.[20] This involves interplay of time as there is gradation in manifestation.[21] In its Jñāna-aspect it realises the unity of the world, thus manifested, with itself. The third aspect namely Saṁkhyāna refers to its determin-ing capacity that provides a clear-cut connotation of every category of experience. Thus, reckoning of the external world in definite forms finds expression in such proposition as "this is a jar" and "this is not so". Technically it may be called अपोहन or *Vikalpa* that is, exclusion of all things not coming under a particular category. Hence, subject is excluded from object and so on. It may be suggested that the twelve or sixteen stages of cosmic unfolding known as Kālīs are due to this aspect.[22] *Gati* is another form of the supreme dynamism. Gati is the attainment of one's true nature after dispelling the clouds of distinction between all categories of experience. That is, the artificial bifurcation of subject and object etc. is abolished here. Abhinavagupta with the help of a metaphor suggests that, just as the difference between the original prototype and reflected figure is absent in case of the phenomena of reflection—if the mirror breaks, the reflected figure goes back to its original source, not that it attains something new——, in the same way realisation of one's essential nature follows the sublation of logical distinction between the self and the manifested world. The realisation that the reflection is metaphysically an imaginary construc-

21. *M.P.* (T), 9. 40.

22. For detailed explanation of these stages cf. Dr. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, pp. 512—522, (2nd Edn.).

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

tion leads to the grasp of their basic identity. This is called ascending one's own nature' (स्वरूपारोहित्व). In its fifth aspect i.e., *Nāda* (Sound) Kālī effects the retention of self-consciousness or self brooding (स्वात्मपरामर्शशेषता) alone[23] since all the above stages are attached to one which is in the thick of distinction and plurality. The attainment of self-consciousness takes place with the disappearance of the differentiating categories of determinate-indeterminate knowledge on apprehending them as one with the five functions of the Absolute.[24] This furnishes adequate material to deduce our own conclusions. In the first place all these types of *Kalana* to a great extent synchronise with the five powers of the ultimate reality namely emanation, sustenance withdrawl, disappearance and grace.[25] In the second place *Kalana* as *Nadana,* the fifth phase, appears to have an implicit reference to the Krama concept of *Parā Vāk.* Kālī's foremost aspect is called Parā Vāk (speech) not because it is an object of speech but because it can express the undifferentiated, indeterminate matrix in its totality. The suggestion is that Nāda is nothing except self-consciousness.[26]

II. The second ground of its being called Kālī is again related to *Kalana.*[27] Time (काल) serves as a successive as well as supra successive determination of objects, though abiding in the Absolute (परमेश्वर). But the outward manifestation of this time or temporal phenomenon is due to Kālī. In this sense it is an aspect of the Absolute and not the Absolute itself.

---

23. *T. A.V.,* IV, p. 175.
24. *Krama-Naya-Pradipikā,* p. 4.
25. Cp. *M.P.* (T).
26. *M.M.P.,* p. 129.
27. *T.S.,* p. 45 & ft. notes 5, 6, 7.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

III. Kāla, as a technical word, comprehends the two channels of space and time (देशाध्वन् and कालाध्वन्) representing the entire cosmic arena, either consists of a triad. *Kālādhvan* consisting of *Varṇa, pada* and *mantra* serves as a denoter of *Deśādhvan* that consists of the categories Kāla, Tattva and Bhuwana. This significand-significans link reduces the two parallel lines of cosmic process that originates from a still higher source, Kālī, identical in essence. For this matter the word Kāla is picked up in order to represent both the orders.[28]

IV. It is called Kālī or Kāla Saṁkarṣiṇī because it always appears eager to annihilate Kāla (कालकलनाकलंकग्रसिष्णुतया) This process is technically called *Kālagrāsa*.[30] The famous twelve Kālikās are the various stages through which the Kāla is eliminated and these Kālikās find their eternal abode in the ultimate, the Kālī, which is absolutely free from temporal content. Thus it is the thirteenth principle transcending not only those twelve stages but even the Parameśvara, the highest category of the Trika system. It is said that the process of Kāla's extinction finally subsides in the Parameśvara, but the Kālī is a higher principle that goes to the length of taking Parameśvara or the terminating point of Kāla in its fold.[31] The epithets of Kālī द्वादशाररश्मिमयकालचक्रभक्षिणी and षोडशान्तकालभूमिका would bear out the same point on a close scrutiny.

V. The transcendental intelligence is known as Kāla-Saṁkarṣiṇī because it drags Kāla, the Bhairawa within. Bhairawa

28. *C.GC.*, 1. 15; *C.G.C.* (Comm.), I, p. 36-37.
29. *T.A.V.* III, p. 157.
30. *M.P.* (T), 9. 55; Also cp.
सृष्ट्यारिकलनारूपो यत्राक्रमचिदम्बरे ।
काले: संहारमाप्नोति कालग्रासः स उच्यते ॥
C.S. (MS. No. 151, J. & K. Govt. Library, Srinagar).
31. *M.P.* (T), 3. 110 & 114.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

is called Kāla for it manifests the whole world from Śiva, first category of manifestation, down to the earth, the last category. Kāla Saṁkarṣiṇī holds its sway over Bhairawa ensuring that nothing can happen without its will.[32] In a similar vein it is asserted that Bhairawa is identical with Kāla which is sound and life-breath in nature (नादस्वभाव and प्राणस्वरूप). The ultimate level (अप्राणभूमि) is attained when that Bhairawa too is devoured.[33] This is, in other words, the state of Kālī.

VI. Kāla has a double aspect. At empirical plane it throws out the world in existence and gets involved in succession. Th same Kāla, at the trans-empirical level, is non-successive owing to its exclusive relationship with the ultimate. Owing to Kāla's operation I-ness (अहन्ता) evolves externally in a downward order (अनुलोमक्रम) while its power, Kālī, is responsible for internal involution (प्रतिलोमक्रम) of the time thus manifested:

क्षेपमम्ब वितनोति संख्यया तद्ग्रहश्च सहसा परत्रये।
अक्रमस्स खलु काल ईश्वरे प्रत्यभुष्य भवतिं च काल्यसौ।

(*C.G.C.* 4. 39)

Kāla-Saṁkarṣiṇī is an agmic appellation of the Absolute.[34] As the totality of power proceedes from it Kālī is considered to be perfection-consciousness (पूर्णतासंवित्). The whole universe can be exhausted in three powers. The transcendented (परा), the Transcendent-empirical (परापरा) and the Empirical (अपरा). All these three are clasped within as identical with itself by Kāla-Saṁkarṣiṇī.[35] It is also wholly responsible for manifesting another similar triad. It is *Parā* while it appears as omnipotence and freedom. It is *Parāparā* when it wills to project world-order and as *Aparā* it is essentially of the nature of succession.[36] Prior to crea-

32. *T.A.V.*, II, pp. 223-224; *M.P.* (K) pp. 6-7; C.G.C. (Comm.) II, p. 264.
33. *M.P.* (K), p. 67.
34. *T.S.*, p. 27; *T.A.* 3. 70; *T.A.V*. II, p. 82.
35. *T.S.*, p. 27.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

tion it is pure, i.e., untarnished by the formal categories of subject etc.[37] It is the perfect consciousness that assumes all the forms. It is the prius of the entire external and internal manifestation. All these logical constructions are essentially identical with Kāla-Saṁkarṣiṇī. A unitary principle appears in discrete units as different from itself- is occasioned only by its unrestricted-freedom.[38] There is complete cessation of all the sensual and mental activities.[39] It is said to discharge two functions namely, exhibition of difference within itself and display of causal potency underlying the descending and ascending order of five acts of the ultimate dynamism.[40] It is, therefore, described as the harmony of सृष्टि and भासा, the first and the fifth acts.[41] It is conciousness in essence, state of harmony and the ultimate *verbum* in nature.[42] Since the entire objective pluralism including वाहशक्ति (five streams of Supreme energy) and sense-powers is brought back within its fold it ever remains the transcendental subject (परप्रमाता).[43] This female principle itself is the lord-Absolute.[44]

In view of metaphysical peripheries of our problem an observation made by *Krama* scholars needs our close attention. This point may be found true of other allied systems alike. Kāla-Saṁkarṣiṇī is depicted to have pure and perfect consciousness as its sole being. It has been adored as the presiding deity of शुद्धा विद्या (the pure consciousness or know-

---

36. *T.A.*, I. 5.
37. *C.G.C.*, 4. 39.
38. *Ibid.*, 4. 147.
39. *M.P.* (K) p. 55.
40. *C.G.C.* (Comm.), II, p. 48.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
42. *M.P.* (K), pp. 54-55.
43. *T.A.V.* I, p. 11.
44. द्वादशैक्यतनुरक्रमक्रमो भैरवस्त्वमसि देवि ते स्थितिः। *C.G.C.* 3. 105.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

ledge).[45] By implication it is Śuddhā Vidyā as such in the metaphysical context. Out of the dual meanings of Śuddhā Vidyā—(i) as an end, and (ii) as a means to self-realisation known as सत्तर्क in *Krama* phraseology—Kālī is identical with it in the first sense. In this sense Śuddhā Vidyā is different from its namesake, the fifth psychic category of experience in the pure order.[46] It is argued that if the ultimate principle, in its immanent aspect, is to be explained as nothing but self-consciousness, this necessarily has to be in the form of pure-experience (शुद्धवेदन)[47]

Kāla Saṁkarṣiṇī, कालक्षयंकरी, in other words as अनाख्या or अनाख्यापरमेश्वरी is a supra-sequential principle that even curbs the tendency for the rise of time-constructions (कालविकल्प). It transcends the level of whatever 'is' and 'is not'. Kālī's presupposition is a logical necessity should we want to swim across the temporal phenonema.[48] The term Anākhyā (indefinable) means a state defying a name which is a result of lower grades of speech than *Parā vāk*. Though this is not the nature of negation yet it so appears. At this level *Anākhyā* and *Bhāsā*,[49] reckoned as the Thirteenth Goddess, do not differ from each other and it finally emerges as an all encompassing principle.[50] In the āgamic tradition the existence of variety of divine forms in order to serve various ends is due to the agency of *Krama* (succession). All this variety vanishes in *Anākhyā* and subsists as absolute

45. *Ibid.*, 4. 41; also see, *T.A.V.*, 1, p. 10.
46. *Ibid.*, 4. 43 (Comm.), II, p. 202.
47. *Cp. P.T.V.*, p. 213.
48. *B.U.*, (Comm.), p. 3.
49. अनाख्या and Bhāsā are used generally as synonyms for तिरोधान and अनुग्रह, the two functions of the Absolute. Hence अनाख्या and भासा are not used in functional sense but in the sense of ultimate Reality.
50. *M.M.P.*, p. 104.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

unity. This is a sequenceless and transcendental realm. It is experience, pure and simple. Hence the language fails to describe it. In this context जयरथ has drawn our attention to a controversy among the sub-schools of the system. Jayaratha believes that the ultimate either appears as such (transcendental) or as twelve Kālīs unfolding the empirical order. The other school declares this *Anākhyā* to be thirteenth in addition to those twelve. This transcends the empirical plane of succession.[52] Jayaratha, though adhering to the former position, in a reconciliatory tone suggests that rival thesis is difference-oriented for practical considerations while his own is identity-oriented on metaphysical grounds.[53]

This naturally explains as to why the महाभैरवचण्डोग्रघोरकाली, a name given to Anākhyā in mystical context, is declared to be the ultimate (या अस्मद्दर्शने पूर्णतया परा इति पश्मेश्वर्युक्ता).[54] This state abounds in the ontological unity of the categories of experience e.g., object, subject and means of knowledge as well as the cognition as self-consciousness that revels in variety of forms.[55] रुद्ररौद्रेश्वरी is another name given to Kālasaṁkarṣiṇī (श्रीकालसंकर्षिण्यपरपर्याया रुद्ररौद्रेश्वरी).[56] The term is used in mystic contexts, though it has much of philosophy to back it. In *Vṛnda-Cakra* it is the sixty-fifth principle that is embeded in all the sixty-four aspects.[57] The most common phrase dealing with its character portrays it as presiding over or ascending the highest tide and state of harmony.[58] It per-

---

51. *T.A.V.*, III, P. 132-33.
52. *M.P.* (T), p. 58–61; *M.M.P.*, P. 104.
53. *T.A.V.*, III, pp. 133-34.
54. *Ibid.*, p. I, 187.
55. *T.A.*, 4. 172. K.S. Verse 27.
56. *M.M. P.*, p. 92.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
58. परधाराधिरूढसामरस्यम् : *Cp. V. Bh.* V., p. 68, M.P. (T), 7. 57.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

vades even the first of the five *vāhas* headed by व्योमवामेश्वरी .[59] In it even the faintest residual trace of desire is not found. Hence it is called 'lean' or 'lean-framed' (कृशा or कृशतनु) .[60] This the last of the sixty-five aspects is the highest and comes to be deemed as 'rest' (विश्रान्ति) because the gradual elimination of succession is finally accomplished here. It is the Supreme Grace,[61] the highest principle described as अतुलरूपिणी in mystic parlance. As soon as it shows its predilection towards concretisation it leads to the emergence of *Kula-Pañcaka*, known as *pañca-Vāhas* also led by Vāmeśvarī.[62]

The Kāla-Saṁkrṣaṁkrṣiṇī, has called षोडशाधिका or सप्तदशी कला .[63] The entire universe is reflected within it and hence identical with it as a reflected figure is with its reflecting medium. The idea is echoed in *Pratyabhijñā* also.[64]

---

59. This point must be clearly understood. The Saṁkarṣiṇī is the highest category of which व्योमगमेश्वरी in the Krama system, the first of the five Vāhas—the media of the ultimate dynamism's flow is different from the वामेश्वरी of the Vāmakeśvara or Tripurā system. Kāla-Saṁkarṣiṇī has been identified with the latter as we shall see further. Another point, that should not be overlooked, is that the Vyoma-Vāmeśvarī, though highest of all pentades and identical with the Cit-aspect of the ultimate, is not the ultimate as such. There are two divergent stands taken by the Krama thinkers regarding the status of Kāli. In one view, Kāla-Saṁkarṣiṇī is the ultimate while the other school treats it as the power of the Absolute thus relegating it to the second place. The majority of authors who have dwelt on five Vāhas are inclined to believe that Kāla-Vāmeśvarī is the first sprout (*V. Bh.* V, p. 68). The identification of Vyoma-Vāmeśvarī with Kālī. (Cf. *Abhinava,* pp. 5–6–509) seems possible only in the view of Abhinavagupta (and of course, those who follow him), who on the testimony of his own Krama-Stotra believes in the ultimacy of Maheśvara. Thus Kālī comes to be his power.

60. *M.T.* (*T*), 7. 57 Cp. इत्थं पूर्णस्वरूपापि महाग्रासैकघस्मरा। सर्वोत्तीर्णवियद्वृत्तिमत्यजन्ती कृशा स्मृता ॥ *C.S.* (MSS). 39.

61. *M.T.* (T), 7. 51–101.

62. *V.Bh.* V., p. 68.

63. *M.M.P.*, pp. 105-6, 184-5.

64. *Bhās,* II, p. 135, 136.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

This seventeenth power is reflected in Bhāsā,[65] the fifth and foremost aspect of the Absolute's functionalism. It is pure indeterminacy. The sixteen powers form the content of ephemeral multitude while the last one constitutes their prius. Thus the seventeenth power stands for both, the immanent and the transcendental aspect of God-head. This unitary principle breaks into true-effulgence and self-consciousness (प्रकाश and विमर्श). It is the unison and harmony of both and is referred to as भैरवी and भैरव, or शक्ति and शक्तिमान् analytically. Thus, it referes to the ontological synthetic activity and the ontological analytic activity of Kālī. This is the reason why it is called a यामल principle.[66] It is the ultimate source of the fifth letters of Indian alphabet representing the ideas basic to the constitution of the world as well as of five-flows and all the mystic circles standing for the categories of experience and their totality. Thus, the seventeenth principle comes to be an alogical, metemperical principle explaining as it does how the world of duality comes into being from a moinstic source.

A digression. A close look into various tantric lores reveals quite a few interesting parallelisms. त्रिपुरसुन्दरी of Vāmakeśvara sect, सार of the Sāra-system, कौलिकी or विसर्ग of the Kula system and मातृसद्भाव in the मालिनीविजयमारतन्त्र are the counterparts of the Kālīi or Kāla-Saṁkarṣiṇī in the *Krama* system.[67] These parallelisms are stretched to their farthest limits. According to Sivopādhyāya the supreme deity of the *Krama* system finds its counterpart in प्रज्ञापारमिता of Buddhist

---

65. I am not in a position either to uphold or question the merit of Bhāsā and Kāla-Saṁkarṣiṇī (Cp. Abhinava, p. 511). By implication it may be so. With the present state of our knowledge nothing can be said with certainty.

66. *M.M.P.*, p. 106; T.A.V., 10., p. II, p. 223-24.

67. *T.A.*, 3. 67–70; 3. 143, 146; *P.T.V.*, p. 104, *V.M.V.* pp. 28, 105.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

Tantricism.[68] It appears that all the tantric sects were interknitted by a close affinity of theses and themes. This offers a remarkable field for future research. The point is further corroborated by the profuse similarity of diction in the presentation of respective deities as ultimates.[69] Agreeing in fundamentals they all declare that each of them constitutes the supreme realm of experience and existence and is the original source of whatever comes within the ken of our knowledge, experience and existence. Probably the genesis of their mutual distinction lies not so much in their respective metaphysics as in their practical aspects.

It may be relevant to point out that study of the concept of Kālī as a Supreme metaphysical and sole ontological principle in the *Krama* system brings to the student to the threshold of an interesting phase of the history of Indian philosophy. On the one hand it brings out the latent but close corelation among the cognate tantric creeds which still stand in need of scientific study in their proper perspectives, and on the other, it emerges as a culminating point of various philosophical concepts of time as time-force (Kāla Śakti) and mythological accounts of the same as a trans-empirical category.[70]

---

66. इति क्रमस्तोत्रसंवादात् अपादानत्वेन परैव देवी देशकालाकारावच्छेदविनाशिनी समालंभनीया। एषैव भगवती निरावरणरूपा प्रज्ञापारमिता इति उच्यते। तत् उक्तम्.......। इयमेव शून्यभूमि विज्ञानतंत्रे परमशिवत्वेन उपदिष्टा। *V.Bh.* V., p. 141.

69. Cp. *V.M.V.*, pp. 6-7; *M.V.V.*, I, 889–894; *P.T.V.*, p. 164, *T.A.* 3. 67; *T.* 3. 253-4.

70 Cf. अथर्ववेद 19. 53. 5 (कालसूक्त) and 19. 54. 6 मुण्डकोपनिषद् 1. 24–26 (it contains probably the first reference to Kālī); गीता 11. 32; गौडपादकारिका on माण्डूक्योपनिषत् 1. 1. 9; विष्णुपुराण 1. 2. 8, 1. 2. 24; अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहिता vii, 5, 6 etc. etc.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

ABBREVIATIONS

1.	Abhinava	..	*Abhinavagupta*: An Historical and Philosophical study, Dr. K. C. Pandey, 2nd Edn.
2.	Bhās	..	*Bhāskarī,* Bhāskara, (incorporating the text of Abhinavagupta's *Vimarśinī,* three parts).
3.	B.U.	..	*Bhāvopahāra, Cakrapāṇi,* with Skt. Comm. by Ramyadeva.
4.	C.S. (MSS.)	..	*Chummā Sampradāya,* Niṣkriyānandanātha, MS. No. 151 (J. & K. Govt. Research Library, Srinagar).
5.	C.G.C. C.G.C. (Comm.)	..	*Cidgagana-Candrikā,* Kālidāsa (attributed) with Skt. comm. Divya-Cakorikā, two parts.
6.	I.P.K.	..	*Īśvara-Pratyabhijñā-Kārikā,* Utpala.
7.	I.P.V.V.	..	*Īśvara-Pratyabhijñā-Vivṛti-Vimarśinī,* Abhinavagupta, three parts.
8.	M.M.P.	..	*Mahārtha-Mañjarī-Parimala,* Maheśvarā nanda.
9.	M.P. (K)	..	*Mahānaya-Prakāśa,* Śitikaṇṭha, K.S.S.
10.	M.P. (T)	..	*Mahānaya-Prakāśa,* authorship unknown, T.S.S.
11.	M.V.V.	..	*Mālinī-Vijaya-Vārtikam* Abhinavagupta.
12.	P.T.V.	..	*Parā-Trimśikā-Vivaraṇ*-Abhinavagupta.
13.	T.A.	..	*Tantrāloka-Vivaraṇa*-Abhinavagupta 37 Āhnikas.
14.	T.A.V.	..	*Tantrāloka-Vivara,* Jayaratha, twelve parts.
15.	T.S.	..	*Tantra-Sāra,* Abhinavagupta.
16.	V.Bh. V.	..	*Vijñna-Bhairava-Vivṛti,* Śivopādhyāya.
17.	V.M.V.	..	*Vāmakeśvara-mata-Vivaraṇam.* Jaya ratha.
18.	Vāk	..	*Vākya-Padīyam,* Bhartṛhari.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

APPRECIATION OF YĀSKA AS AN ETYMOLOGIST*

By Dr. S. K. Gupta

1. The Indian science of etymology is based on the conception of the monosyllabic origin of the vedic language and the consequent theory of *Vāg-Brahman*. This science had originated in the days of the Mantras themselves.[1] It was developed in the age of the Brāhmaṇas and reached its climax in the time of Yāska.[2]

2. Yāska's work is so far the only systematic treatise on the science of etymology produced in India. This work has been studied by several scholars since the introduction of Sanskrit and vedic learning in the West. Among them Roth, Sköld, Lakshman Sarup, V. K. Rajwade and Siddheshwar Varma deserve special mention. These scholars have adopted the modern historical, critical and comparative method which is based mainly on the findings of the science of comparative philology.

3. The science of comparative philology gave birth to the conception of a hypothetical I.E. language which is supposed to be the original source or the mother of the various I.E. languages—Greek, Latin, German, French, Sanskrit and others. A comparison of the various cognate words of these languages led to the construction of the words of this hypothetical language. This reconstruction was done by the application of certain phonetic laws which govern the development of modern I.E. languages and which have, therefore,

* This paper was submitted to the Gauhati Session of the All India Oriental Conference, 1965.

1. Sudhir Kumar Gupta, *Vedabhāsyapaddhati ko Dayānanda Sarasvatī kī Dena,* IV. 2—16.

2. *Ibid.,* V—XV. Also see chapters XVI to XIX.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

been regarded to have operated in the development of the original I.E. language into the modern I.E. languages. The I.E. mother tongue so reconstructed is highly polysyllabic and synthetic. The forms of this language are regarded as standard and the etymologies of Yāska are examined in their light. Along with the reconstruction of the original forms of the I.E. words their original meanings have also been determined and have been fixed at some places with certainty and at others with greater probability which in practice converts itself into certainty and definiteness.

4. From the above two statements about the basis of the Indian science of etymology and the reconstruction of the hypothetical I.E. mother tongue and the examination of Yāska's etymologies on this standard it can be easily understood that there is no meeting ground between the basis of Yāska's etymologies and the modern standards of examination of his etymologies. As a natural consequence the modern critics of Yāska have failed to grasp the proper or right spirit of Yāska's approach and etymologies and have been misled to criticise him in and out and to condemn him where he should have earned their gratitude and appreciation.

5. The latest work on the examination of the etymologies of Yāska that has come into print is '*The Etymologies of Yāska*' by Siddheshwar Varma. This work has pointed out many drawbacks of various types in the etymologies of Yāska. These incorporate in them practically all the important defects pointed out by others in the etymologies of Yāska. It is, therefore, proposed to examine some of these defects in the light of Yāska's approach based on the monosyllabic origin of vedic language. The admissibility of such an origin of the vedic language on the basis of internal evidence found in the Vedic literature has already been propounded in a paper read by the author before the XXVI International

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

Congress of Orientalists held last January in New Delhi.[3] In another paper recently contributed to the *Veda-Vāṇī*, Varanasi,'[4] an analysis of Yāska's etymologies based on this view of the origin of vedic language has been presented. The present paper does not discuss the points examined there.

Yāska lacks historico-geographical outlook

6. Yāska, it is argued, lacked a historico-geographical outlook. Although he had a glimpse of linguistic geography, he did not develop it as a principle in his treatise.[5]

7. Yāska did not aim at writing a book on the principles of philology. He wrote a commentary on the vedic words collected in the Nighaṇṭu. In putting forth his principles of etymology he has admitted that there are some such words whose noun-form is used in one dialect whereas its verb form is current in another dialect.[6] A knowledge of such dialects and their use in etymologising vedic words was most essential for their correct derivation and interpretation. This also suggests that in the development of polysyllabic words from monosyllabic ones the same word developed and became current as a noun in one place and as a verb in another place. Yāska should and would have utilized this knowledge in his etymologies to his best. Since there is no material available anywhere else in regard to the various dialects of that age it is impossible to determine the extent to which Yāska made use of this knowledge. Pāṇini has also referred to some provincial uses and practices of his age.

---

3. *Journal of Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad Vol. XIX.

4. 'Yāskīya Nirvacana', V. Vā., XVII. 1—4.

5. *Etymologies of Yāska*, pp. 3.

6. *Niruktam*, II. 2.

F. 8

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

8. Further as regards the historical side of etymology Yāska had no idea of time as a determining factor in words and meanings. He was, e.g., totally ignorant of the modern historical outlook in regard to the development of the sense of ásura into a demon from a god, which points out dethronement of the sense of ásura in the Ṛv. X. 124 which is an influence of time.

9. This observation is based on the assumption of the modern school that in the beginning ásura signified a 'god' and had a good sense. But in due course this position changed. A conflict arose in two groups (—the Indians and the Iranians). One group converted the gods of the other group into demons. This hypothesis of Indo-Iranian schism is indeed ingenious but it was never accepted universally.

10. There are no solid grounds for believing in such a class conflict. Bhagavaddatta[7] and perhaps Jwala Prasad[8] also regard *asura-culture* as fundamentally Aryan. Ram Chandra Jain[9] considers that the asuras were followers of Śramaṇa—Jain religion. He and some others believe that the tradition of Śramaṇa religion is pre-Aryan.[10] As has already been discussed elsewhere this view of the pre-Aryan nature of Śramana tradition is not tenable.[11]

11. Bhagavaddatta[12] has drawn attention to Pāṇini's

7. Bhagavaddatta—*Mohenjo Daro and Harappan Asura Culture*, Delhi, 1964.

8. Jwala Prasad—*The Shinx Speaks.* He believes in this conflict. See pp. 18.

9. R. C. Jain has contributed three articles on this topic to the XXVI international Congress of Orientalists whose summaries appear in the summary Book. He has also contributed articles to Jain Bharati, January, 1964 and Mahavira Jayanti Smarika, April, 1964.

10. Acharya Tulsi—Pre-Aryan Śramana Tradition, 1964.

11. S. K. Gupta—Śramaṇa Tradition and *Vedic Literature*, Mahavira Jayanti Smarika, April, 1964.

12. Bhagavaddatta, *Mohenjo Daro and Harappan Asura Culture, Delhi*, 1964.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

aphorism—'parśvādiyaudheyādibhyo aṇañau'.[13] Asura has also been read in the parśu-ādi class. It (asura) was a republic depending on the strength of their arms. Rakṣas, Marut and Vasu have also been read in this class.[14] He has also referred to āsurī script of the asuras alluded to by the Lalita Vistāra.[15]

12. Pantulu[16] believes that in the literature of the Taittirīyas the devas and the asuras belong to the same class. With the passage of time gradually there arose differences in moral qualities and spiritual practices and they separated themselves from one another. Padmanabhayya[17] feels that the Dravids, the Asuras and the Bhṛgus are one and the same.

13. Ananda Kumar Swami[18] regards the devas and the asuras as deities of light and darkness, which are originally one and the same substance. Difference has grown out in them on account of orientation, revolution and transformation. R. Shamsastri[19] declares the asuras as the imaginary dark spirits of night.

14. Bradke[20] has equated asura with the German word asen; Sukumar Sen[21] considers asura and sura as one and the same word. Asu and su respectively denote the normal and

---

13. P. V. 3. 117.

14. See *Ganapāṭha* on P. V. 3. 117.

15. See Foot Note 12 above.

16. N. K. Veṅkatesan Pantulu—Devas and Asuras, QJMS 28, July 1937. Also see his article—The Story of the Asuras QJMS 33, 1942 and S. C. Mitra—A note on the Travesty of an ancient Indian Myth in a modern Hindu ceremony, IC. 4, July 1937.

17. A. Padmanabhayya, *Ancient Bhrgus*, JOR 5, 1931.

18. A. K. Coomarswamy, *Angel and Titan*: An *Essay in Vedic Chronology*, *JAOS* 55, 1935.

19. R. Śhamsastri—*Vedic Gods*, B. C. Law Commemorantion Volume, Calcutta, 1945.

20. See entry no. 121. 8 in *Bibliographie Vedique*—L. Renou.

21. S. Sen, *Some Indo-Aryan Etymologies*, SP. A.I.O.C. XIV, pp. 103

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

the zero grade forms of the I.E. *esu. C. S. Venkateshwaran[22] relates asura with asu and √ as to baeathe, to be active. It originally meant 'vital breath which animates all beings.' By *lakṣaṇā* it came to express freshness of life, vitality and existence.

15. On the other hand Norman Brown[23] divides vedic gods into two classes. Indra and others are gods whereas Agni, Varuṇa and Soma were asuras. Indra invites Agni to leave the asuras and to come to serve the sacrifice of the devas.[24] There is no personal conflict of Indra and Vṛttra, but it describes a conflict of the devas and the asuras in general.

16. This imagination of Brown is based upon the literal sense of the key words of the hymn.[24] On the basis of the same Yāska has been described as ignorant of the factor of time in the development or evolution of the meaning of asura.[25]

17. But the hymn[24] is a dialogue full of metaphor. It presents a dialogue between Indra, the Tad Eka of the Nāsadīya hymn[26] and Agni, the first seed in the form of desire (or heat) in His mind.[27]

18. According to the hymn[24] studied in the light of the Nāsadīya[28] and the Hiraṇyagarbha Prājapati[29] hymns Agni is generated first of all in the inexplicable waters clothed in darkness surrounded by darkness and which in the course of

22. C. S. Venkatesvaran, *The Vedic Conception of asura,* P.O. 13, 57—60.

23. W. Norman Brown—*Proselytising the Asuras JAOS* 39, 1919.

24. See *Rv.* X. 124.

25. *EY*. pp. 3.

26. *RV*. X. 129.

27. *Ibid.*, verse 4.

28. *Ṛv*. X. 129.

29. *RV*. X. 121.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

evolution becomes Bṛhatī (expanding) and Candra (Pleasing). Before this event this fire existed in fire-woods in the form of waters enveloped by asura or dāsa in the form of darkness. It is natural that now on the generation of fire asuras in the form of darkness of the time of dissolution (pralaya) become ineffective—or are made to take shelter in caves and the like (cp. dāsamvarṇam adharam guhākah—*Ṛv.* II. 12. 4).[29a] When Agni is born, Soma or light also comes into existence. The worlds and lumineries come into being. Mitra in the form of sun becomes huge mass of light and heat. Varuṇa, i.e., Tad Eka destroys darkness and ahi-vṛttra—clouds in the form of inexplicable state and bestows gross waters, rain and so on. Streams of water hold the brilliant lustre of this Varuṇa. Yajña purifies the waters and causes them to reach the sky. The waters, then, appear as if they are happy on account of their rising height and purification. Acquiring the light of Varuṇa they are far separated from Vṛttra—the darkness. The individual souls called 'ābhu yat'[29b] are called 'haṁsa' since they move in friendship with āpas—the waters.

19. This in short is an explanation of the metaphorical or figurative descriptions of this disputed hymn. This explanation nowhere indicates that there has been a degradation in the position of asura.

20. Words in a language, sometimes, tend to express manifold senses. Sometimes they express even two contradictory and incompatible senses, just as the √yu expresses both the senses of mixing and separating. The reason is obvious. In a monosyllabic language power of the various syllables in expressing is very wide, which sometimes leads to the expression of contradictory senses. Hence there is nothing strange

29a. See S. K. Gupta—*Veda Lāvaṇyam*, Part I, Ṛksūktasangrahaḥ, 10/3-4.

29b. S. K. Gupta—*Vaidika Darśana, Veda Vāṇī*, Varanasi, 15. 2, pp. 10, Para 5.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

if the word 'asura' denoted two contradictory senses—gods and demons at the same time. Evidently, Yāska has accepted this position.

Yāska's Craze for Etymologies

21. Yāska had a passion, a craze for etymologies. He has given a number of etymologies of one and the same word. He lays down that no word should be left underived.[30]

22. Before criticizing Yāska on this score it becomes incumbent upon us to examine why Yāska felt the necessity of deriving words and why was he led to do so with reference to the meanings of the words derived. The key to its answer is the monosyllabic origin of the Vedic language.[31] On account of this fact it was necessary for the ancients to express by some means the varied and full sense of monosyllabic words turned into polysyllabic ones. To solve this problem the Indian etymologists evolved the method of deriving words. Keeping an eye on the origin and development of vedic words the ancients must have felt that every name or a noun word is based on one or more verbs. These verbs were termed by them as bhāva or ākhyāta. The complete conception or the full meaning of a word could be known only by a reference to these roots. Ākhyāta itself means—'which helps to explain with completeness.' Hence the theory of the verbal origin of all nouns was propounded. When verbs were reduced to roots nouns were regarded as root-born and were explained as such.

23. As has been shown elsewhere[32] in the beginning man had a very limited vocabulary whereas he had too many ideas

30. *EY*. pp. 3. Cp. *Niruktam,* II. i—na tveva na nirbrūyāt. (Niruktam will henceforth be abbreviated as *N*).

31. See S. K. Gupta—*Monosyllabic Origin of the Vedic Language,* Vide foot note 3 above.

32. *Ibid.*

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

to express. There were no fixed social conventions in regard to the use of words. Various people, therefore, must have used various syllables and their combinations to express the same sense. This must naturally have led to the use of the same syllable and combinations of allied syllables to express different senses. In such a state of affairs it is not inconceivable that the speakers must have been using some other means also to make themselves fully, correctly and clearly understood. On account of these devices the same syllable and combination of syllables would have played the role of different words. But when during the course of development of the language conventions were fixed and when the various minute and diversified ways and means to express various meanings by the same word had disappeared with the increase in vocabulary it would have been natural that words having the same form but expressing different senses merged into one and lost their separate identity. It was, therefore, not possible to express their various senses by one single verb or root. Hence all the direct, implied and suggested senses connected with one verb were explained with reference to one root. Senses related with another verb were explained by another root resembling the verb concerned. In this way the etymologists had to take recourse to several roots and senses to explain the manifold meanings of a vedic word. This is the basis of several etymologies of one and the same word. It was, not, therefore, Yāska's passion or craze for eymology but a necessity—a must.

24. One can say that the modern scholars have explained such words of vast and manifold meanings with reference to one verb or root or sense. But it does not represent the correct position since here too scholars move in different direction in deriving a given word. No unanimity has yet been established in the etymology of most of the key words. Moreover, it has not been possible to explain all the various

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

senses of words like Indra with reference to one verb or root or sense. Truly speaking, in this sphere a modern researcher moves in a circle. His assumptions depend upon one another. He can not, therefore, arrive at right conclusions. The modern scholar generally does not recognise the wealth of meaning attributed by the ancients to words like Indra. He feels that in that remote age such a wealth of meaning and a development of human mind capable of attributing and grasping such meanings is not conceivable. On this assumption vedic stanzas are explained and their import is regarded as undeveloped and primitive.

25. Many a time Yāska has given only the meaning of various syllables or parts of syllables of a word. Modern research has not been able to understand this fact. It proceeds on the assumption that the syllables etc. explained by Yāska are remnants of words and does not regard them as the original components of words. The position is just the reverse. Yāska has, of course, not stated it clearly in words but he has accepted the monosyllabic origin of vedic language by accepting the principle of explaining the etymology of words on the similarity of a syllable or a letter.[33]

26. Yāska's etymologies when examined from this point of view cease to be primitive. Anna 'food' can denote both the senses of (i) eating (fr. √ad) as well as of surrender (fr. ā + √nam); āśā can denote nearness (fr. ā + √sad) and 'ina' can express 'possession' (fr. √san).[33a]

27. Meaning is the sole basis of the etymologies of Yāska.[34] He has given these meanings as they were known or current in his age. He could not possibly find any fundamental and revolutionising vision of explaining the

---

33. *N.* II. 1.
33a. *EY.* pp. 4; 24.
34. *N.* II. 1.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

senses received by him from tradition by a knowledge of the cognate words of various I.E. languages. On account of the development and changes in their senses brought about by differences in geographical, political and other conditions I.E. prototypes are not helpful in research on account of the absence of a complete appraisal of all the conditions but lead to wrong conclusions. I.E. languages do not possess the wealth of meaning of words like Indra and Agni found in the Veda. Scholars are not yet agreed on the identity of form and characteristics of Varuṇa and Ouranos. The vedic representative of Ahura Mazda is not undisputed. Imagination has run wild in search of Indra's prototype deities and heroes in other literatures.

28. The I.E. language itself is a dream and imagination. Its real existence is unknown. To construct its words and their senses by comparing words of the Vedic, Avesta, Greek, Latin, German, French, Lithuanian and others and to refix the senses of vedic words by examining them in the light of these hypothetical imaginary words is nothing but revolving in a circle. It is unscientific to effect a change in the traditional senses of vedic words in the light of I.E. cognate words without a proper examination of the development of their form and sense in the language to which they belong.

29. It is not also possible to object to Yāska's etymologies of vedic words on the basis of the science of philology. There are several reasons:—(i) The stream of development of languages does not flow from the later languages such as Classical Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and others towards the earlier, i.e., the Vedic language. It flows in the opposite direction—from the Vedic to the Classical Sanskrit and other I.E. languages: (ii) Roots are imaginary and limited. (iii) Yāska has not explained vedic words everywhere with reference to roots only. Many a time he stops by giving only the meanings of words.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

30. All the existing I.E. languages are later than the vedic language. Yāska, Pāṇini and other Indian and foreign scholars have explained the forms of vedic words on the norm and basis of the words of Classical Sanskrit. They hold, e.g., that 'ā' has disappeared from the forms of ātman yielding forms like tmau and tmanā. The case endings of āsmāka, tubhya and vyoman, and the letters of śyā, dbhuta and the like have decayed and have been lost in the course of their use. The later words of Classical Sanskrit have not been declared as developed forms of the earlier vedic words. From this point of view wherever laws of Palatalization (of Colity) and of Cerebralization (of Fortunatove) are considered as applicable there the position requires a re-examination. Where there is a gutteral (kavarga) in the cognate I.E. words in place of a palatal (*cavarga*) in Sanskrit it is not necessary to hold that palatals have emerged out of gutterals. Palatals can also change into gutterals. Pāṇini has referred to this phenomenon in his rule '*Coḥ kuḥ*'. At the same time he has recognised the development of gutterals and 'h' into palatals in his rule *Kuhoścuḥ*. Which of these two—the gutterals and the palatals—is the original sound? Has the same original sound come down and is found in the cognate I.E. forms? It is very difficult to say decisively.

31. Even if the rules of philology are accepted as they are in most cases no advantage accrues to vedic interpretation by pointing out the draw backs of Yāska on their basis. On the other hand a researcher is led away from his original and main aim when he searches for these defects.

32. As has been said above, and as has been accepted by the grammarians roots are imaginary. Roots were imagined and coined to simplify the method of explaining the senses of words and roots current in that age, keeping in view their forms. Naturally the number of such roots was and is

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

very small in comparison with the number of word-forms. This is why, new roots other than those in Pāṇini's list are found to have been coined by the commentators of lexicons, in aphorisms and in non-Pāṇian Dhātu-pāṭhas. Hence, it is neither possible nor it is necessary to reconcile philologically the syllables and letters of all words with the letters of the limited roots. For this very reason the etymologists have laid stress on the meanings of a word and not on its form. In such a state of affairs Yāska has explained words and their letters by means of roots closely or partly resembling them in form.[35]

33. In his etymologies Yāska has often given merely the meanings or senses of words or their component letters. Critics of Yāska have been much inconvenienced on account of taking such meaning as a root pointed by Yāska. Naturally they have criticised him bitterly.[36]

34. Hence it was necessary for Yāska to limit his etymologies to the roots listed by the grammarians and to limit all the six derivations of *Jātavedas* to the 'vid' roots.[37] A science has to lay down and observe certain limitations otherwise there would be an anarchy. If Yāska and the grammarians had not adopted this method there would have been no end of roots and their innumerosity would have defeated the very purpose of their formation.

Lack of a Study of all the Connected Passages of the Ṛg-Veda

35. It appears no where from the Nirukta that Yāska ever studied the Ṛgvedic passages connectedly among themselves while discussing the sense of a word or words. He

35. For an analysis of Yāska's etymologies from this point of view see S. K. Gupta, *Yāskīya Nirvacana* being published from November-December 1964 in *Veda Vāṇī*, Varanasi.

36. See the above paper for a study of such words.

37. See *EY*. pp. 3 for the objection.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

appears to take a single Mantra and explain the words used therein with reference to that verse only.[38]

36. Yāska is however absolved of this accusation the moment it is recognised that in many cases all the etymologies and explanations given by Yāska do not fit in the passage cited by him as an example. Yāska generally aims at explaining the whole conception of a word in his etymologies. Out of this whatever portion is relevant in a given verse should be adjusted, the rest may be ignored as far as that particular passage is concerned. Even otherwise Yāska by laying stress on the meanings and by admitting the possibility of different etymologies based on difference in their sense has admitted that the whole conception or sense of a word is very vast and wide. One or more main senses can thus exist together. Once the whole conception of a word has been determined it remains to be seen as to what particular part of the conception of that word is at the root in a given passage. Various senses forming part of the conception of a word may have been used in different contexts. One general or special sense of a word may or may not be applicable in all places. It is, therefore, a disregard and neglect of scientific study to apply directly everywhere in the translation of a vedic stanza the so called original sense of a word as fixed by modern research and to declare the passage or its sense obscure when such an application results in discrepancy and obscurity of sense. Moreover, this method can work well only when (i) there is no change or development in the meaning with the passage of time (ii) the word has been used at all places under the same circumstances and in the same sense or all the uses of a word relate to one branch of knowledge (or science). But in the practical application of this principle both these essential conditions are ignored. Even the differences and develop-

38. *Ey*. pp. 7.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

ment of ideas of the speaker are not kept in view. A knowledge of the limitations of science depends upon the meanings of a word and a knowledge of the original sense of a word depends upon all the connecting passages. Hence this study involves interdependence. It cannot lead to correct inferences when used under ordinary conditions. For example, the ordinary meaning of the word asura has been determined as 'demon'. Dāsa also signified practically the same meaning. But these words also stand for the darkness existing at the time of dissolution.[39] This sense is not obtained by a study of this word by the modern method. The modern scholars, therefore, applied the general or fixed sense of these words in the context of creation and regarded them as directly implied. They could not think of a metaphorical use. They, therefore, inferred from such passages a description of a conflict which probably is not there.[40] This method does not give us the meaning of 'appendix'[41] of the word *mṛtyu* occuring in the *Mṛtyuvimocinī* Ṛk.[42] Yāska appears to have realized this position. He has, therefore, not examined together by collecting all the passages reported to be connected with the word being explained. He might have known it by practical experience that the same translation of words like *vṛṣan* in all the passages is not justified from the points of view of poetry, science or religion.

37. Yāska has associated the derivation of 'duroṇa' with two actions—motion and contentment.[43] He has expressed these senses by the root √av. Motion is predominent

39. See para 18 above.

40. See Paras 9 to 15 above.

41. See S. K. Gupta, *Tryambaka* being read before the Technical Sciences Section of this Conference. Also see his essay *Ṛgveda ke Ṛsi aur una kā Sandeśa aur Darśana*, pp. 14-15, foot note 42.

42. *Ṛv.* VII. 59. 12.

43. *EY*. pp. 7.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

in dur-dvāra of śatádur. The sense of I.E. *dhur has not been given by S. Varma in his Etymologies of Yāska. Here too the sense of motion predominates. In this respect there is unanimity between the two etymologies. But the sense of contentment is not expressed by the study based on the I.E. cognate.

Want of Synthesis

38. 'Yāska's want of synthesis is so glaring that he has not studied his own passages connectedly,' otherwise he would not have explained the word *pānta* in two different ways 'pātita' and 'pānīya'.[44]

39. This objection is answered by what has been said above. Yāska feels that the conception of 'pānta' contains the senses of both 'pātita' and 'pānīya'. Even otherwise in the context of its uses in the two passages containing the words 'āpāntamanyu and haviṣpānta the sense of '*pānta*' is best explained by the phraseologies used by Yāska. In the later word *havis* and *pānta* are separate words. *Pānta* has been used here as an adjective.

Mechanical Juggler

40. Like a mechanical juggler Yāska gives different etymologies of the same word in different contexts and does not indicate that the literal sense of a word can be changed or extended according to various contexts. This defect is quite evident in the etymologies of akūpāra and vṛka.[45]

41. The author of the Etymologies of Yāska has not explained all the senses of either of the words *akūpāra* and *vṛka* with reference to one single etymology and literal translation. At least there appears to be no idea common to the senses of 'gift' and 'tortoise' assigned to *akūpāra* which may yield both these senses.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ey.* pp. 8.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

42. Both the sun and the moon possess light. But sun's light is his own. He has another main function also which Yāska has described in the actions of Āditya. It is to absorb juice. Yāska considers that sun has been termed *vṛka* on the basis of this sense. Moon does not perform this function. Light is also not her own. Yāska has explained this position by rendering 'vṛ' as vivṛt, vikṛt, and vikrānta.

43. A dog and a plough are also called *vṛka*. Yāska associates both these with a common concept of cutting.[46] A dog bites beings and a plough cuts land. By this Yāska has made it clear that he knows that the literal meanings of a word sometimes undergo change. But where he thinks that the basis of naming an object is different from that of another he cannot imagine even the possibility of a change and development in the literal meaning of the word concerned.

Craze for Etymology

44. Yāska's craze for etymologies has killed his imagination. He can not notice the development of the sense of a word by implication (*lakṣaṇā*). He has, therefore, offered superfluous, unnecessary, loose, unsound and wild etymologies like those of *keśin, ukṣan, avani* and *akṣa*.[47]

45. Function of etymology (nirvacana) is to bring out the whole wealth of the meaning of a word. Yāska aims at it. He, therefore, lays down that every word must be etymologised. Today philology also takes pains to determine the concept of words.

46. The stage of the development of meaning by the application of implication reaches in a language only when human mind has proceeded far in the formation of subtle

46. *N*. V. 21. 47. *EY*. pp. 8-9.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

ideas and adopts current words to explain them on the basis of similarity. Its contribution in the momenclature of gross objects is notcied most in advanced societies. Ordinarily the tendency is to give different names to different objects. Some of the names are expressive of the class (jāti), qualities and actions (kriyā) of an object. These names are given by thinkers after due thought or on the basis of some particular experience. When a name is given for the first time by learned men on the basis of a full knowledge of the object, it is placed under this category. When this naming is done all of a sudden then the name of an old object is given to the new object on the basis of some similarity. It, therefore becomes necessary to know the conditions under which a name to an object was given.

47. The language etymologised by Yāska is very old and has developed by the method of pairing out of a monosyllabic source. Role of implication (lakṣaṇā) in this pairing method is nothing. This role could have operated only after the words had become polysyllabic. If implication played some role in monosyllabic languages then it must have assumed a very subordinate or insignificant position when these monosyllabic words paired to produce polysyllabic words. Its (i.e., of the implied sense) separate identity and its original form would not have remained in their original form in the process of this pairing.

48. Yāska appears to have been familiar with this position because he has given his etymologies by dividing many words into monosyllabic parts. Under such circumstances he could not give a very important and prominent place to implication in his etymologies.

49. It is to be investigated as to what was the original sense of keśa. Was it hair or ray or anything else? Yāska has not assigned the sense of hair to this word. Keśa has

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

not been used independently in the *Ṛg-Veda*. In a compound *keśavantā* it forms the first member of the compound. In about eleven compound words it is the second member. These compound words are adjectives of Agni, Indra, Sūrya, Savitṛ and Viśve-Devāḥ (—Agni or Sūrya or Indra). Sāyaṇa has taken keśa in these words in the senses of 'rays, flames and hair'. Hair is an implied sense since all these are divine lumineries possessing no hair. Here, too, ray and flame can be senses of keśa.

50. It is possible that there is a metaphorical or personified description in these uses, but there should have been some uses of keśa in the sense of hair also. It may be that the original meaning of keśa was something else but later on on the basis of similarity hair also came to be called keśa.

51. As has been pointed out elsewhere[47a] keśī in the Vātaraśana hymn stands for the All-powerful Being. He is the light of the world, by which (light) He sustains all this. The original sense of keśa, therefore, appears to be light. Light is deva (—god). Their own light is the power of devas (—deities). The root 'div' yielding the word 'deva' also means to illumine.

52. The original senses of keśa, therefore, are 'light', ray and flame! From this sense it might have been used to denote hair on the basis of power and similarity. If this position is accepted, Yāska's etymology will appear to be in order since it maintains this very position. I.E. *qūîk—'to comb' and Lith. kaišti 'to shave' do not represent the original meanings of keśa. They are later developments. Had they been its original meanings the word *keśa* meaning 'hair' would have been different from the word *keśa* meaning 'ray,

---

47a. See S. K. Gupta, *Śramana Tradition* and *Vedic Literature, Mahavira Jayanti Smarika*, April, 1964, pp. 24, para 8 (English Section).

48. *Ey*. pp. 8.

F. 10

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

flame and light'. A similar study of ukṣan, avani, akṣa and other such words can lead us to ascertain the correct position.

Loose Etymologies

53. Etymologies of bāra, aṇu, śvaghnin, svaḥ and such other words do not indicate Yāska's knowledge of Prākṛtism. They are examples of his loose etymologies.[49]

54. The problem has arisen because vedic forms have been explained as if developed from classical Sanskrit forms on account of our knowledge of the latter. But the development flows in the reverse direction. Yāska has explained vedic words in his etymologies by presenting the forms of those words as current in his days. If viewed from this point of view there will be no looseness in his etymologies.

Verbal Origin of Nouns

55. The main cause of a fall in the etymologies of Yāska is that he holds that all nouns have a verbal origin. Due to the acceptance of this theory he is satisfied simply by a similarity of the first consonant of the root with the consonant of the noun.

56. There is a difference between a verb (ākhyāta) and a root (dhātu). Root is an imaginary collection of letters expressing an action which is found to exist in the same form or nearly same form in some of the words denoting that action. The relation (—function) of a root is limited to the meaning of that verb.

57. On the other hand a verb (ākhyāta) has becoming as its fundamental notion. It denotes all those words used as verbs which denote a common action. The literal mean-

49. *Ey.* pp. 9.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

ing of ākhyāta is—ā samantāt khyāyate nāmno bhāvaḥ yena-tat, i.e., 'by which the becoming or action or sense of a noun is fully and completely expressed.' 'From this point of view, the sense of 'the verbal origin of nouns' would be that all nouns are associated with becomings or actions. These becomings or actions fully bring out meanings of those nouns. These embodiments (mūrta rūpa) or these becomings are nouns. These becomings are expressed by roots. Meanings of roots are limited where as those of nouns are much more wider and can be related to many becomings or meanings of many roots. In order to explain the full import of a noun etymologies from various roots can and have often to be presented. Sometimes no such root may be available which may have the same sense as the noun and at the same time may correspond to its letters. In such cases either a new root may be coined or, as Yāska has done, (i) one may be satisfied by giving only meanings of the word and (ii) where some letter or syllable is common to both a root and a noun, there the etymology of the word be given with reference to such a root having some common part.

58. Here it must be borne in mind that originally language was monosyllabic. Although there both vowels and consonants were equally important yet consonants were most helpful in knowing the difference of and keeping the words apart. Yāska, therefore, felt the necessity of etymologising with reference to the similarity of letters or syallables. He accepted it as principle and gave it a practical shape.

Primitive Nature of Yāska's Etymologies

59. Yāska's etymologies have been branded as primitive. This primitive character is threefold:—(i) general (ii) phonological and (iii) morphological.[50]

---

50. *EY*. pp. 19.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

General Characteristics

60. (i) Yāska has derived surúc from √ruc in the absence of a knowledge of I.E.* leuq- 'to shine' and Gr. leukós 'light'.[51]

61. This objection is rooted in two principles of the modern science of philology, viz., (i) Sanskrit palatals have developed out of I.E. gutteral sounds and (ii) the hypothetically reconstructed words of the I.E. language were the original forms out of which the later forms now known to us were developed.

62. The law of palatalization of the I.E. languages is not universal. It has several exceptions. Moreover, it cannot be said with definiteness whether gutterals have developed into palatals or the palatals have given rise to gutterals until an I.E. language older than the Vedic Sanskrit is discovered which may invariably have gutterals in place of Sanskrit palatals and the development of the former into the latter can be shown according to the law of palatalization. Pāṇini has recognised the change both ways—from gutterals to palatals and from palatals to gutterals. He also records a change of 'h' into a palatal. Both these tendencies are found in the Prākṛt languages as well as in modern Indian languages. Languages like the Greek and German belong to a date much later than that of the Vedic Sanskrit. The original sound may or may not have been preserved there. Conclusions based on the hypothetical I.E. words reconstructed on the basis of words of doubtful nature of these languages in so far as they may or may not have preserved the original sounds are opposed to the correct scientific method. At the same time when it is accepted that the original source of the vedic language was monosyllabic the position and nature of the hypothetical I.E. words have to be re-examined. How

51. *Ibid.*

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

can, then, conclusions on their basis be helpful to our study? There are several forms of the √ruc and the √roc whereas those of the √luk are comparatively fewer in number. The existence of these three roots there indicates their independent existence. Greek and other languages have preserved the form of the √luck and have lost the forms of the other roots √ruc and √roc.

63. (ii) Further mythological and historical matter is required for a fuller acceptance of the etymologies of parjanya, particularly in view of the probable I.E. prototype per-g-, per-q- 'to strike', and Lith. percúnas 'the God of thunder'.[52]

64. A comparison of the I.E. prototypes with parjanya indicates that there are only two main differences—the j of parjanya has changed into k and y has been lost. These differences clearly indicate that percúnas is a later word. Yāska has given his etymologies on the norm of classical Sanskrit. Although this is a step in the reverse direction yet it was the only way out since a language originally monosyllabic cannot be explained in any other way.

65. It is futile to hope for a discovery of mythological and historical evidences desired by the 'Etymologies of Yāska'. Whatever can be found, if at all, will be a later development of the vedic descriptions of the other deities and as such conclusions on that basis will be based on a slippery ground.

66. (iii) Yāska depends too much on grammatical categories. He does not indicate a careful study of vocabulary. As e.g., usrá, usríyā are feminine forms of usrá 'a bull' and is derived from the I.E. us- 'to make wet', referring to his semen. Cp. Skt. uṣṭra-, Av. uśtra 'camel'.[53]

---

52. *EY*. pp. 19.
53. *Ibid*.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

67. Corresponding to the I.F. prototype us-Sanskrit has the √ukṣ. Usrā also denotes a ray. Motion is predominent in this meaning. To see an existence of wetting, sprinkling semen in it will be very far-fetched. Truly I.E. √us- is a later form of vedic √ukṣ, which appears to have yielded √uṣ also. It is, therefore, erroneous to connect usrá-, usrā, usriyā and the like with it merely on the basis of similarity in form or sound. Yāska has divided usra- into three parts—u, s, ra and has explained them by 'ut' or 'ūrdhva', srāvin' and 'bhog' respectively. Their compound form is usra.

68. As has already been stated above it is no fault of Yāska to depend on grammatical categories because there was no other better way than this to explain a language of monosyllabic origin on the pattern of forms then current in the then polysyllabic language.

69. (iv) Yāska had no parallel prototype in old Indo-Aryan. He has, therefore, adopted curious devices for his etymologies. He has explained aṁhati-, aṁhas- and aṁhu- from √han by a violent metathesis since he was not conversant with the I.E. prototype anh- 'to tighten'.[54]

70. Yāska did not consider the form of √han as binding, original, natural and exclusive. There were three elements in amhati etc. They had to be adjusted with some root signifying motion expressive of injury. Such a root was √han. By giving this etymology Yāska has shown that it is sometime necessary to etymologise parts of a word even by separating the components of a root. Yāska could have derived these words from the √am, but thereby he could neither have obtained the sense of motion leading to injury nor he could have properly explained the element 'h' in the original form. It would have an unreal position to take 'h' as a suffix in the derivation of the word from the √am.

54. *EY*. pp. 20.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

71. (v) Yāska's etymologies of words like aṅguli are loose.[55]

72. Yāska in his etymologies of aṅguli has divided it into two parts—aṅ and guli. He has explained aṅ by agra and guli by gālinī, gāminī, kāriṇī and sāriṇī. Looseness could be accepted if Yāska had tried to derive aṅ from agra and guli from gālinī and others.

73. (vi) On account of his ignorance of the parallel forms of the I.E. he has separated words at wrong places and has read prefixes in portions of verbs. As e.g., not knowing the I. E. prototype au—'to hear' and Lat. audio 'I hear' he has derived āvís from ā+ √vid.[56]

74. It is not difficult to understand the position of audio. It is a cognate form of Sanskrit āvid since a little metathesis of ā-vid as av di (where v is pronounced as ou)—āoudi—āudio—audio gives it. It may have originated from av—(a+v). In the course of its development from a monosyllabic form to a polysyllabic one there would have been several stages. The words a and v would have given rise to combined words av, āv, āvi, āvis, āvid and so on. If this be so Yāska will have the credit of leading us nearer the position. I.E. au- in its combined form as a root leads astray. It reminds of the Skt. √av.

Phonological Shortcomings

75. Yāska was ignorant (i) of the philology of 'h' (ii) of the origin of cerebrals (iii) of the origin of ṇ and (iv) of the fact that old Indo-Aryan r often went back to an original I.E. l. He has therefore, given many unsound, crude and misleading etymologies. As, e.g., gádhya going back to I.E. ghṛdh- 'to plait' has been derived by Yāska from √grah; dandá- prototype of I.E. del+ -ndo- 'to split.' Lat. dolo 'I cut'

55. *Ibid.* 56. *Ibid.*

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

has been derived from √dad or from √dam; aṇu going back to I.E. al+ -nu-'to crush', Gr. aleo 'I grind' has been derived from anu; and aruṇá 'red' prototype of I.E. elu- 'yellow' and old High Germ. elu 'yellow' has been derived from ā+ √ruc.[56a]

76. In the original mantra gádhya is an adjective of vājam. Vājam is an upamāna (-standard of comparison). It has been explained as 'food' by the commentators. Dayānanda has explained it as 'speed'. To make greedy is a developed meaning of taking. The sense of taking is more appropriate in respect of anna than the sense of 'making greedy'. Griffith and others have translated vajam as 'booty' where the sense of greed comes only when the objects become easily accessible. Greed does not make an object easily accessible. From the point view of meanings, therefore, Yāska's etymologies are quite appropriate.

77. In his aphorisms Pāṇini has pointed out the modifications of 'h' into ḍh, gh, dh, th and so on. The grammarians had word-forms before them. They analysed them, selected the common element representing sound and sense (—form and matter) and explained the origin of all the forms from these common elements. Yāska noticed that the root corresponding to gadhya and having a meaning nearest to its meaning was √grah. He, therefore, explained the word from this root. It was not, therefore, necessary for Yāska to know the philology of h. Even otherwise I.E. *ghṛdh was neither a part of any language in the age of Yāska nor thereafter nor earlier than him. To arrive at any conclusions in the light of this fictitious word is not safe and is unacceptable in scientific study.

78. When man was in his earliest stage, he must have felt the necessity for his own protection. But he had not

56a. *Ibid.*

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

yet invented implements to cut and to tear wood. He must have, therefore, been protecting himself by lifting wood fallen down by violent wind and the like. In such a situation the original meanings of daṇḍa can be to hold and to control, but not to cut and to tear. These later senses indicate a later stage of human development. Hence *del-ndo- and the like cannot be connected with daṇḍa. The cognate Skt. root in Lat. dolo appears to be √ do to cut.

79. Yāska appears to have paid attention to the origin of the conception of aṇutva in deriving aṇu from anu. In the beginning the idea of aṇutva would have originated in a comparison of gross and more gross objects. Later on it developed into the theory of atoms. That originally aṇu denoted the subtlest atom is not improbable. But this can be accepted only when it is shown that the word was coined and used after the theory of atoms had been discovered. There are certain words like aṇvī and descriptions connected with them which appear to indicate that atomic theory might have been current in some form or the other. It appears from the upaniṣadic phrase 'aṇoraṇīyāṁ' that aṇu was used for an object less gross than a gross object. Yāska's phrase 'aṇuranu sthavīyāṁsam' says just the same thing. Gr. aleo and I.E. *al+ -nu- expresses just the opposite thing.

80. Red colour attracts the eye first of all. It has been counted among the primary or basic original colours by the modern scientists. Yellow is not an original basic colour. This colour does not attract the eye at once like the red colour. Red colour is more bright and possesses keen rays. Yāska appears to have brought home this very fact by deriving it from a+ √ruc.

Morphological Shortcomings

81. By accepting the theory of the verbal origin of nouns Yāska has ignored 'that imaginative element in the formation of language which attributes names to things by

F. 11

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

mere resemblance or extension of sound or sense.'[57] The relation of words and objects denoted by them is arbitrary. It is, therefore, a mirage to search for a reason for the sense in most of the words. Due to an ignorance of this fact denominative words like dīrgha were set up as origins of nouns and adjectives. Suffixes like 'mna' were regarded as roots. The Skt. prototype śa of Lat. suffix 'ksa' was considered as originated from √ śī. In the absence of a suitable root, etymology was offered with reference to the nearest root which led to phonological laxities and inaccuracies as in the etymology of kṣīra. Fictitious verbs were manufactured to etymologise Atharvan and the like. Etymologies of ágas, áp. babhrú and others are very hazy, lifeless and indefinite. Whereas those of Sarámā and others are cheapish and meaningless. Híraṇya has been explained from the unconnected √ hṛ.[58]

82. When Yāska propounds the theory that on account of their pervasiveness and minuteness (—subtlety) words are used to name objects for everyday affairs he does not recognise any eternal or permanent relation between a word and an object denoted by that word but has accepted this relation only for the purpose of running everyday affairs. In other words he accepts the theory of the modern philologist that their relation is arbitrary. The belief in the nature of a permanent relation between sound and sense is entirely philosophical based on the theory of Vāg Brahman which accounts for the origin of all objects from Primeval Speech or Sound.

83. As has been discussed earlier Yāska has not crossed the limitations of philology by accepting the theory of the verbal origin of nouns. The difference lies in the manner of presentation. Likewise the imaginative element could

---

57 *EY*. pp. 21. 58. *EY*. pp. 22.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

lead to naming things by mere resemblance or extension of sound or sense only when the monosyllabic language had developed into a polysyllabic one. The language of the vedic stanzas has of course become polysyllabic but it yet embodies in itself to a great extent many of the features of a monosyllabic language. Although it has proceeded far on the road of development yet it is diffcult to know as to how many words have been manufactured here on the basis of resemblance and extension of meaning. Max Muller holds that epithets and other words in the vedic language were yet in a fluid state. Thus there must have been a great flexibility in regard to meanings. Moreover, the ancients thought of implication and the like at a very late stage. The theory and practice about the development of meanings in the vedic language on the basis of resemblance and extension has not been developed sufficiently even in the age of the Brāhmaṇas. Ordinarily all the meanings of a word have been regarded there as literal.

84. Yāska does not point out the cause or reason of the relation of a word and its meanings nor he tries to discover it. He only tries to bring out its full meanings. Hence whatever phonological and morphological defects seem to exist in the etymologies of Yāska their source is not the theory and beliefs of Yāska. It is the movement of modern philology in the reverse direction which explains the formation of vedic forms from classical roots, suffixes and words. Dīrgha has not been formed from √ drāgh. The latter has been imagined or fabricated on the basis of the former. There are other forms also at the root of this imagination and fabrication. In words like drāghīyaḥ the basic element is this √ drāgh. The I.E. prototype *del ghó- 'long', Av. darega 'long' is an adjective. Here too the propriety of the basic element √ drāgh is quite obvious. In these prototypes the elements del ə and dare- correspond to the Sanskrit drā. 'The Etymologies of Yāska'

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

considers √drāgh as a denominative of dīrgha. His position needs rethinking in view of all that has been said above.

85. Originally there were no suffixes in the vedic language. Every syllable was an independent word. Mna in dyumna-, nimna-, sumna-, and nṛmṇa- therefore, is not a suffix. It is an independent word which expresses and specifies the senses of dyu, ni, su and nṛ, may be it is their synonym. It, therefore, becomes inevitable to explain mna with reference to the roots √man, √nam and the like. Similar is the case with śa in Sanskrit kalaśa prototype of ksa in Lat. calix 'cup' Indo-Eur.* qel- 'cup'. Here it is an independent word denoting possession, whose sense has been expressed by √śī by Yāska.

86. It was not an easy job to explain the vast multitude of words with reference to a few thousand roots. Kṣīra (milk) drops—flows from the udders of a cow. The only root expressing this predominent idea was √kṣar. It is easy to imagine √kṣar from kṣīra. Change of ī into 'a' is not impossible. In Prākṛta languages sometimes ī changes into a.

87. When once the etymologists had accepted the theory of the verbal origin of nouns it was not unnatural for them to fabricate new fictitious roots to explain nouns for whose explanation there was no root suited to the sense and development of the form of a word in the vedic literature and in the list of roots compiled by the grammarians since some verb must have played part in the formation of such words. May be such roots were known at the time of Yāska but have been lost now.*

88. The main cause of the so-called hazy, lifeless and indefinite etymologies is also the reverse process of explaining vedic words. Yāska's etymologies, in fact, express the senses of the words etymologised.

* Also see para 106 below.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

89. Etymologies of Sarámā and the like appear cheapish and meaningless only when the modern school tries to evaluate them in the wake of their assumptions (mānyatā). They have been misled by the belief that Sarámā is a proper name. Ākhyāna or Itihāsa is merely a mode of expression. It is figurative or metaphorical. It is, therefore, a mistake to regard Saramā as a proper noun in the legend of Saramā and Paṇis. Yāska has said so by declaring the description of Sarámā as an ākhyāna at the end of his explanation of this word.

90. It has been stated above that Sanskrit grammar recognises various types of phonological modification of the sound 'h'. When they are kept in view Yāska's etymologies will cease to be 'particularly lifeless'.

91. In the etymologies of hiraṇya Yāska considers it a combination of hir-a-nya. He has explained hir by the √hṛ. I.E. *ghel-, ghel- can be a proto-type of hir. Phonological problems are bound to creep up in regarding Lat. helvus as a prototype of Skt. hiraṇya.

92. It may be that the yellowishness of gold impressed the mind of man when he called it hiraṇya but it is difficult to decide that hiraṇya originally denoted yellowishness since it also means light. When Agni deposited His semen (retas) in the waters, His semen became hiraṇya 'gold'. In neither of these two senses yellowishness is the original sense. At the same time retas 'semen' is regarded as white (cp. its name śukra). Retas is hiraṇya. It is sprinled or is taken in. To express all these senses Yāska has explained it with reference to the √hṛ. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa has used the word hiraḥ in the sense of girdle (mekhalā) and rein or bridle or rope (raśanā). Raśana is also held (by hand etc.).

93. It is needless to examine point by point Yāska's defects of disregard of vocalic quantity and of violent disregard

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

of vocalic quality and consonantal correspondence. Like the phonological defects (vaiṣamya) discussed above these defects are also due to the reverse process in the study of Yāska's etymologies.

Words as Condensed Sentences and Letters as Condensed Words

94. In the etymologies of kimīdín, kuhū, kīkaṭa, pramáganda and maṅgalá these words are regarded by Yāska as condensed sentences. Sanskrit, however, is not a polysynthetic language like Eskimo, in which all sentences become single words in actual speech, dropping all grammatical forms.[58a]

95. Imagination and fabrication of the I.E. language by modern philology has placed the search for truth of the modern philologist on a totally wrong and misleading path. They have, therefore, been unable to understand the origin, development and form of the vedic language.

96. The present form of the vedic language has not only developed out of a monosyllabic origin but it has also retained almost all the stages and forms of the combination of words in the course of its development. This language has preserved in some form or the other features of all the main families of languages of the world. Here are found the various forms of agglutination and isolation. The existence of some polysynthetic words here is, therefore, no wonder.

Condensed Words

97. Yāska has often explained single letters in words as relics of condensed words, each single letter being the fragment of a root. It appears that these fragmentary roots were the last desparate attempt of the ancient Indian etymologist.[58b]

58a. *EY*. pp. 24-25.

58b. *Ibid*.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

98. Enough has been written on this point. This objection is based on the ignorance of the modern critic about the monosyllabic origin of the vedic language.

Popular Etymologies

99. Yāska has given many popular etymologies from the Brāhmaṇas, from tradition, from folk lore and from his own fanciful creation. These popular etymologies are phonologically very loose and sometimes wild. For example the etymologies of áṅgiras, ádri, ásura, duhitṛ, devāra, syālā and other words do not answer to their I.E. prototypes.[59]

100. The authors of the Brāhmaṇas have preserved and have transmitted to us till now the results of word-studies of their age. The seemingly popular etymologies from the Brāhmaṇas may not be so. As for example the etymology of áṅgiras from aṅgāra is neither popular nor unscientific. Aṅgāra is carbon in modern scientific terminology which transforms into áṅgiras—diamond under certain pressure and heat. The etymology of ádri from ā+√ dṛ indicates that mountains were cut (for purposes of building and road materials etc.). According to Gṛtsamada[60] Indra made the mountains firm and free from agitation. Its etymology from √ ad points to grinding of soma by stones. Yāska has not explained atti here. May be, that Yāska used it in the sense of grinding.

101. Ásura signifies pre-creation darkness and similar phenomena. It disappears at the generation of Agní in the beginning of creation (Rv. X. 124) and centres into caves and the like (—dāsam várṇam ádharam gúhākaḥ). The derivation of ásura from the √as points to a situation in conformity with this description. This description is also the basis of the etymology a-su-ratāḥ.

102. The original sense of duhitṛ appears to have been 'milking' as is evident from the physical explanation of the

59. *EY.* pp. 27.

60. *Ṛv.* II. 12. 1.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

legend of Prajāpati and his daughter. A daughter is milked by others. At the same time she milks her parents. In course of time this milking would have provided basis for the ideas of dūre hitā and durhitā for a daughter. All these senses taken together express the full meanings of the word duhitṛ. Rv. X. 85 records a description of the vahatu—marriage presents or dowry of Sūryā. Wherever there will be the custom of marriage presents (from the parents) a daughter cannot be an object of desire. In the Ṛg-Veda prayers have been offered for wealth full of warrior sons. Girls have not been prayed for any where.

103. The basis of the etymology of devára is the prevalence of the niyoga system in the Ṛg-Vedic and post Ṛg-Vedic periods. This custom was in vogue since long before the advent of Yāska. Niyoga was ordinarily practised in one's own family. Gradually, therefore, it came to be limited to the husband's younger brother. In some castes the system of niyoga has assumed the form of widow-marriage. The sense 'husband's younger brother' of the word devára points to this newer practice. This also holds good in the case of I.E. prototypes—Gr. dāér and I.E. *daiuér.

104. The word syāla has been used only in one stanza of the Ṛg-Veda which has been repeated at verbatum in the *Kāṭhaka* and the *Taittirīya Saṁhitās*. The word lājā has been used only in the Saṁhitās of the Yajur Veda. Existence of lājā homa in the age of the Ṛg-Veda is not proved from the evidence of vedic mantras. The existence of lājā homa is not established beyond doubt even by the text of the White Yajur-Veda. It is, therefore, difficult to determine when the custom of sowing corn from the winnowing basket started. Just as the existence of the word syālá cannot be denied in spite of the absence of all references to it in post-Ṛgvedic

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

Saṃhitās, the custom of sowing corn from the winnowing basket also may have been in existence in the period of the Ṛg-Veda. In the popular practice of the society corn is given by the brother of the bride. Hence in due course of time this word came to indicate a brother of one's wife This is also the sense of I.E. sv-a (u) ro-, siourio, Rus. śurin which are regarded its I.E. prototypes.[61] 'Sya' in the etymology of Yāska conveys the sense found in ordinary language. In the light of the I.E. prototypes 'sya' means 'one's wife': ā denotes the relation 'of' and la signifies brother. These senses are to be searched for in the lexicons and literary uses. Divisions into sya and la can be easily noticed in the I.E. prototypes also. In their light syālá cannot be regarded as underivable.

Carelessness, looseness inattentive and inadequate investigation and Consequent wrong Etymologies

105. There are phonological errors in the etymologies of kitavá and krími prototype of I.E. **qurmi;* etymologies of páritakmyā, vindhe, prásākṣata and devāpi are based on incorrect senses and point towards Yāska's careless investigation. Etymologies of úrj, dūta and raśmī are in utter disregard of phonological laws. There are about fifty five (55) such etymologies as calculated by Siddheshwar Varma in his 'The Etymologies of Yāska.'[62]

106. In the etymology of *kitavá* Yāska has explained kita as kṛta and va as vān. The nearest root resembling krími is krām. In both these places the nearest form and sense have been kept in mind. Yāska has not offered his etymologies keeping in view phonological and morphological rules. Ordinarily he does not coin new roots or basic sense elements. Such an imagination or consideration was not

61. *EY.* pp. 28.
62. *Ibid.*

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

only unnecessary for expressing the full sense of a word but it was also misleading. Where the roots given by Yāska in his etymologies are not found in literature they may have been current in some local dialect of his age but have since then gone out of use. It reminds of some roots occuring in the aphorisms of Pāṇini but not read in his Dhātupāṭha.

107. The Dhātupātha has listed √ tak in the sense of laughing and the √ taṅk in the sense of 'living with difficulty'. Takati signifies motion in the Nighaṇṭu.[63] I.E. *teq- and Lith.tekéti both mean 'to run'. Hence √ tak can be regarded to mean 'speedy or fast movement'. The Nighaṇṭu has read takma derived from this root in the synonyms of 'offspring, progeny'.[63a] Yāska regards this verb as ātmanepadi and a synonym of hot (-uṣṇa). Here Yāska has assigned to it a sense (*viz.,* to be hot) which is unknown elsewhere. The authenticity of this sense has to be accepted on the authority of Yāska's evidence. In view of this sense of the root tak Yāska's meaning of takma can not be regarded as wrong.

108. Even otherwise also—movement, especially fast movement generates heat. The Hiraṇyagarbha Prajāpati hymn has expressed this fact in the phrase 'āpohayád bṛhatīr-víśvamāyan gárbham dádhānā janáyantīragním.'[64] Hence warmth or heat is an extended sense of motion which was known in both the ages of Yāska and of the Veda.

109. The sense of 'to move round' attributed by Skanda and Maheśvara in their Nirukta[64a] to √ tak with pari and quoted by 'the Etymologies of Yāska' is not opposed to that of Yāska. These commentators have not been able to advance further and have not paid attention to the vedic view point

---

63. *Nighaṇṭu,* II. 4. 68.

63a. *Ibid.,* II. 2. 5.

64. See *Vedalāvaṇyam* (S. K. Gupta), Part II, 50/1 (ii).

64a Their Nirukta commentary on IV, pp. 75.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

110. It appears from the sense 'one that moves round' attributed to paritakmyā that the vedic aryans had first conceived time as a circle and had conceived its movements as round, and had observed the constant flow of day and night beat they had not known the heat—i.e., the days that come before and after the night. It was later that they recognised that night was preceded and followed by day. But in the opinion of Yāska night has been called paritakmyā on the basis of this later phenomenon. His explanation does not deny the phenomenon of the constant flow of day and night.

111. Böhtlink and Roth have translated this word in their dictionary in a different sense, i.e., the sense of 'wrong course'.[65] This word has been used several times in the Ṛg-Veda. Sāyaṇa has taken it twice in the sense of 'battle' and in all other places in the sense of 'night'. Nighaṇṭu[66] has included partakmā in the list of padas. This inclusion decides that it does signify motion, but it can not be taken to signify motion in the dialogue of Saramā and Paṇis. In ordinary, practice the duration of journey is counted by the number of nights spent in it. Hence in the sense ordinarily assigned to the dialogue of Saramā and Paṇis this sense (night) of the word is quite appropriate.

112 The sense of vindhe in the verse explained by Yāska, viz., 'ná vindhe asya suṣṭutím'[67] is quite in conformity with actual practice in every day life. Paucity of suitable words is expressed in welcome and thanks-giving speeches. This sense of the word fits in well in the other passages[68] also. The sense 'to lack in' assigned to it by Roth and Böhtlink is, against this practice.

113. There are four uses of √ sākṣ in the Ṛg-Veda. In all these places the sense of controlling enemies is intended.

---

65. *EY*. pp. 28.
66. *Nighaṇṭu* IV. 1. 27.
67. *Ṛv*. I. 7. 7.
68. *Ṛv*. VIII. 9. 6; 51. 3. Here 'na' means knowledge.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

Modern philologists have regarded it as a form of √sah. Viś vabandhu Śāstrī regards it as a form of *√sāh. √ Sākṣ- has not been read in the Dhātupāṭha. It is not found in the Nighaṇṭu also. Hence it appears that this root was current in the age of Yāska in the sense of 'to obtain'. 'To over-power' is a condensed form of obtaining. In Hindi the word 'pahuñca' (—'approach') is used in the sense of influence and conquering.

114. Āpi in the word Devāpi has been taken by the modern philologists in the sense of 'a friend' on the basis of I.E. *ēpi- 'comrade' and Gr. ēpios 'friendly'. Yāska regards āpi as a forerunner of āptyā (Instrumental Singular of āpti). Both āpi and āpti have been derived from √āp. Hence both signify 'acquisition, gain' and the like. There is no material or fundamental difference or opposition in the senses given to it by Yāska and by the modern scholar. One has to take care of the sentiments of the other even in friendship. Here one obtains the other. Without this acquisition there can be no friendship. Mutual acquisition of two friends alone is their friendship.

115. Āpi has also been used as a second member in some compounds. Among these sumná-āpiḥ has been taken as a proper noun. Sumna means 'happiness' (sukha). In the words svāpe and svāpíbhiḥ the senses of 'favour', 'gift' and the like of Indra like those in ūtibhiḥ are more suited than that of a friend. Drāpí has been translated as 'armour'. The same root which is in āpi is there in the second members of the compounds rīti-āpaḥ, duḥ-āpanā, ánāptaḥ and anāp-yám. In all these words the root is āp. Hence the basic sense of āpi is obtainment. 'Friend' is its extended sense.

116. Yāska has given only one etymology of ūrj from the √ūrj. He has given two more senses of this word as 'pakva' and 'supravṛkṇa'. These two words do not refer

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

to the roots which form the word 'ūrj'. At the most they express that these are also the senses of this word ūrj and also of the possible root in ūrj.

117. Dūta has of course been derived from the √ jū. √drū and √ vāray (—vṛ). Here Yāska wishes to point out that dūta contains three senses—java (speed), dravaṇa (running) and vāraṇa (defending). Any of these three can be regarded as the basic sense and the remaining two can be obtained from the same. In the form 'dūta' the predominent 'sense-element' is in 'dū'. It can be either 'd' or 'ū'. This 'sense-element' has three senses of java, dravaṇa and vāraṇa. The root can be named on the basis of meaning according to the resemblance with either of these two 'sense-elements'. Probably Yāska does not contemplate that dūta has evolved out of √jū and others by modifications in letters. He has no where explained his position in this respect.

118. In his etymology 'raśmir yamanāt' Yāska has given a reason for calling a raśmí as 'raśmi'. It controls (yamana) hence it is called raśmí. Here it is not desired to derive raśmí from √ yam by the application of phonetic rules. Raśmí means control. In this etymology Yāska has not presented ra or ś or m or i or raś or mi as the sense element. It may be that m common to both raśmi and √yam has been regarded as the basic sense-element and the remaining letters r, ś and i have been regarded as its synonyms or classifiers.

119. Yāska is, therefore, neither careless nor wrong nor wild nor he gives unacceptable etymologies. His view is different; his approach is also different. In view of the origin and development of the vedic language his method alone can be regarded as scientific. New etymologies based on the new roots fabricated in the light of phonetic rules of the modern science of philology may be considered a necessity for the modern philologist. But they are neither necessary

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

for a clear and traditional understanding of the veda nor it is desirable to test Yāska's etymologies in the light of those phonetic rules and the like. It may not be a scientific justice to him.

Obscure Etymologies

120. According to Siddheshwar Varma the *Nirukta* contains a majority of obscure etymologies—about 199 in number and it is, therefore, not possible to evaluate them. He has given several reasons for this obscurity. These include (i) absence of I.E. parallels (ii) relics of Munda-ṣubstratum (iii) absence of sufficient evidence to evaluate the correctness or incorrectness of Yāska's etymologies; (iv) alternative etymologies given by Yāska indicating his doubt and indefiniteness (v) obscure phraseology (vi) failure to give the sense of the etymology of the difficult words explained (vii) obscure grounds of the derivations (viii) absence of material or means furnished by comparative philology to adjudge the validity of Yāska's etymologies even though they are quite clear and (ix) difficulty to ascertain whether a certain rendering is an etymology or a mere paraphrase.[69]

121. Yāska's etymologies can not be regarded defective simply because the modern comparative philology offers no material or means in the form of I.E. parallels to adjudge the correctness or incorrectness of Yāska's etymologies. It is necessary to reexamine and to determine the nature of the so called relics of the Munda-substratum.

122. By offering alternative etymologies Yāska indicates that there is no root which approximates to the sense and form of the word etymologised. The only way out, therefore, is to give etymologies with reference to roots re-

29. *Ṛv.* X. 121.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

sembling in sense and with the various letters forming the word. Sometimes all the senses of the word are obtained from one meaning and sometimes not. In such cases the senses are explained with reference to several roots and all of them taken together give the full meaning of the word derived.

123. Once Yāska's method of etymologies is understood the problem will not arise whether a certain etymology is a mere paraphrase or an etymology based on an indicated root. Where Yāska has not indicated the sense there if the meanings given by commentators are suited to Yāska's etymologies they can be accepted otherwise a sense suited to the etymology has to be hunted.

124. Phraseology of some etymologies does appear to be obscure. It is difficult to know as to what was their position in the days of Yāska. By sustained efforts it may be possible to understand them to some extent. Their study will be presented elsewhere sometimes in the future.

125. In conclusion of this revaluation of Yāska's etymologies, therefore, it can be said that most of the objections raised against Yāska's etymologies are baseless, their basis is different from the basis of etymologies adopted by Yāska. Many objections are based on a wrong understanding of the direction of the development of language and on unreal notions about vedic descriptions and culture. In these objection much undue importance has been given to I.E. prototypes.

126. Yāska appears to hold a correct view about the original form of the vedic language. From this point of view his etymologies are not unscientific and depict the correct position. On the other hand they are an unignorable and desirable basis for further studies and are an invaluable

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

ideal to be kept in view while deriving vedic words for purposes of vedic interpretation and understanding the social, cultural, religious and philosophical ideas lying concealed in the words.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.I.O.C.	..	All India Oriental Conference (Proceedings).
EY.	..	The Etymologies of Yāska, Dr. S. Varma, Hoshiarpur, 1953.
IC.	..	Indian Culture, Indian Research Institute, Calcutta.
J.A.O.S.	..	Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven, U.S.A.
JOR.	..	Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
N.	..	Nirukta (Text) edited by Dr. L. Sarup, Lahore, 1927.
P.	..	Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī with Kāśikā, Banaras, 1931.
P.O.	..	Poona Orientalist, Oriental Book Agency, Poona.
Q.M.S.	..	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.
Ṛv.	..	*Ṛg-Veda* (Text), Pardi.
V.Vā.	..	*Veda Vāṇī,* Banaras.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

SOURCE OF KĀLIDĀSA'S ṚTU-SAṀHĀRA

By R. B. Kulshreshtha*

Kālidāsa's *Ṛtu-Saṁhāra,* his earliest poem devoted to the description of the six seasons of India, has long been held as the most original in form and content among his works. Hardly any scholar has ever tried to trace the source of this poem. Indologists have always taken for granted that the poem was originally conceived in the brain of Kālidāsa, and then executed in an artistic form. But the facts, as will be shown by my arguments, tell otherwise.

Kālidāsa, like Shakespeare, borrowed his subjects from books quite popular in his day. All of us know he drew matter for his *Abhijñāna-Śākuntala, Vikramorvaśīya,* and *Kumārasambhava* from the *Mahābhārata* and for his *Raghuvaṁśa, Meghadūta* and *Mālavikāgnimitra* from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and Purāṇas. For his *Ṛtu-Saṁhāra,* Kālidāsa took the idea from the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*—Third Khaṇḍa.[1]

Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa includes three khaṇḍas. The first khaṇḍa comprising 269 adhyāyas relates, like other purāṇas, the story of creation of the Universe and also sagas of kings and sages. It also prescribes rules about Śrāddhas, Vratas and Stotras. The second khaṇḍa running into 183 adhyāyas discusses Dharma and Rājanīti. Rules pertaining to four Āśramas are also treated here. A few adhyāyas are apportioned to medicine. The third khaṇḍa which is of special interest for us here is formed of 118 adhyāyas. This

---

* Head of the Department of English, M. N. College, Visnagar, Gujarat State.

1. For my discussion I have used *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa--Third Khaṇḍa,* two volumes, edited by Dr. Priyabala Shah, published by Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1958, Gaekawd's Oriental Series.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

is the best and most elaborate study of the Fine Arts of Ancient India. It deals systematically with such topics as Poetry, Drama, Singing, Dancing, Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture. The section on Painting called *Citrasūtra* is composed of adhyāyas 35 to 43. For our present study, we are, however, concerned only with adhyāya 42 which is called *Rūpanirmāṇam*. It describes in full detail the subjects of painting such as kings, sages, gandharvas, daityas, dānavas, ministers, brāhmaṇas, nāgas, yakṣas, women of all types, commanders, soldiers, merchants, singers, dancers, wrestlers, gamblers, city, village, battle-field, fortress, animals, seasons, mountains, forests, rivers, temples etc. Even here our main centre of interest lies in the Ślokas 73 to 79 only. It is these Ślokas that, in fact, form the basis of Kālidāsa's *Ṛtu-Saṁhāra*. They deal with the delineation of the six seasons. These ślokas are quoted below:

prāṇinām kleśataptānām ādityena nidarśayet |
vṛkṣair vasantajaiḥ phullaiḥ kokilāmadhupotkaṭaiḥ ||
prahṛṣṭanaranārīkam vasantaṁ tu pradarśayet |
klāntaiḥ kāryaṁ narair grīṣmaṁ mṛgaiś-chāyā gatais tathā ||
mahiṣaiḥ paṅkasaṁlīnais tathā śuṣkajalāśayam |
vihaṅgair drumasaṁlīnaiḥ siṁhavyāghrair gṛhāgataiḥ ||
toyanamraghanair yuktaṁ sendracāpavibhūṣaṇaiḥ |
vidyudvidyotanair yuktāṁ prāvṛṣaṁ darśayet tathā ||
saphaladrumasaṁyuktāṁ pakvasasyāṁ vasundharām |
sahaṁsapadmasalilāṁ śaradaṁ tu tadā likhet ||
sabāṣpasalilasthānaṁ tathā lūnavasundharām |
sanīharadigantaṁ ca hemantaṁ darśayet budhaḥ ||
hṛṣṭavāyasamātaṅgaṁ śītārtajanasaṅkulam |
śiśiraṁ tu likhed vidvān himacchannadigantaram ||

Translation: Blazing sun can be shown by creatures oppressed with the heat. *Spring* may be depicted by the

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

joyous men and women, blossoming trees and bees and cuckoos. *Summer* should be displayed by men feeling languid, the creatures retired to the shade, the buffaloes reclining in mud and reservoirs of water dried up. *Rainy season* should be shown with birds perching on trees, lions and tigers resorted to the dens, clouds bent down with the weight of water and glistening with rainbows and bright streaks of lightning. *Śarad* can be pictured with the land covered all over with ripened corns, with trees laden with fruits and waters rippling with swans and lotuses. *Hemanta* may be figured-forth with vapoury marshes, harvested fields and horizon full of mist. *Śiśira* may be indicated by men trembling with cold, with joyous crows and elephants and with snow-capped horizon.

A glance at these Ślokas will convince any one that Kālidāsa's *Ṛtu-Saṁhāra* is based on them. One may, however, point out that Kālidāsa's *Ṛtu-Saṁhāra* is not merely objective but also "deals with the feelings awakened by each season in a pair of young lovers." Yet the human emotions expressed in it are evoked against natural background which has been truly depicted in full accordance with the principles formulated in the above Ślokas. The whole performance of Kālidāsa leaves no shadow of doubt in our mind that he borrowed the initial idea from the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*. Kālidāsa follows very faithfully all the instructions given in the Ślokas as regard to the trees, flowers, birds and beasts and several other details. Most significant is the comparison of rivers to young damsels in the third stanza of the third canto of the *Ṛtu-Saṁhāra,* which perfectly conforms to what the *Śloka* 51 lays down:

Sritām Saśrīraram.

Kālidāsa must have known the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*. There are three very cogent reasons for this. First,

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

the first khaṇḍa of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* contains "a long account of loves of Purūravas and Urvaśī which comes a little closer to Kālidāsa's story than the other known versions." Second, all the heroes of Kālidāsa's plays—Duṣyanta, Purūravas and Agnimitra—are well-versed in the art of painting. Third, the *Viṣṇudharmottara* belongs to the same period to which Kālidāsa belongs.

This naturally brings us to the question of the date of the *Viṣṇudharmottara,* which at the same time will also settle the date of Kālidāsa. Dr. Priyabala Shah has discussed this problem with great critical acumen in her excellent introduction. First she finds "that there is considerable similarity between what has been given in our text and such works as the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, *Kāvyālaṅkāra* of Bhāmaha and *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin."[2] After a close examination she places the third khaṇḍa of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* after Bharata and before Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. According to Dr. Keith we cannot place *Nāṭyāśāstra* before the 3rd century A.D. And Dr. Kane proposes the dates of Bhāmaha and Dāṇḍin between 600 to 750 A.D. Thus, the upper and lower limits of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* are well defined. From this Dr. Priyabala Shah concludes: "Thus in the present state of our knowledge, it would be safe to put the *Viṣṇudharmottara* somewhere in the first or rather the second half of the 5th cent. A.D."[3]

If we accept this, we can reject the well-known traditional theory supported by Sir William Jones, Dr. Peterson, Mr. S. P. Pandit, Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri and several other Indian scholars, which places Kālidāsa near the begin-

---

2. Dr. Priyabala Shah, *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa- third khaṇḍa,* Vol. I, Introduction, p. XXV, to whom I am most indebted.

3. *Ibid.,* p. xxvi.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

ning of the Christian era, and adopt the verdict of Dr. Keith: "It is, therefore, most probable that he (Kālidāsa) flourished under Candragupta II of Ujjayinī, who ruled up to about A.D. 413 with the style of Vikramādityā."[4]

4. Dr. A. B. Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama,* Oxford University Press, first published 1924, Reprinted 1954, p. 146.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

ning of the Christian era, and adopt the verdict of Dr. Keith. "It is, therefore, most probable that he (Kālidāsa) flourished under Candragupta II of Ujjayinī, who ruled up to about A.D. 413 with the style of Vikramāditya."[4]

---

4. Dr. A. B. Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama*, Oxford University Press first published 1924, Reprinted 1954, p. 145.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

THREE JAIN INSCRIPTIONS FROM JĀBĀLIPURA (JĀLOR)

By SADHU RAM, M.A., KURUKSHETRA UNIVERSITY

The three inscriptions under discussion are inscribed on the sides of a pillar in the building called Topkhānā in Jālor (Rājasthān), and are numbered 490, 491 and 492 of the year 1957-58, in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Mysore, South India. They belong to the auspicious and victorious reign of the Chauhān king Mahārājakula Śrī Sāmantadevasiṁha of Jābālipura. The Chauhān royal family of Jālor was founded by Kīrtipāla, the youngest of the three sons of Ālhaṇa and Ānnalladevī. Sāmantasiṁhadeva was the son of Chāchigadeva, the great-grandson of the founder. His inscriptions range from the Vikrama-saṁvat 1339 to 1362 (A.D. 1282—1305).[1]

The records are in corrupt Sanskrit inscribed in the Devanāgarī characters, in which the medial vowels ए, ऐ, ओ, औ are formed with *pṛṣṭha-mātrās* (back-strokes), but for ए and ऐ we also have the alternative top-strokes, e.g., in the first line of inscriptions Nos. 491 and 492.

Inscription No. 490 : This inscription consists of 26 lines and is very much damaged, some of the portions being restorable with the help of No. 492. It is dated Thursday, the 4th day of the dark half of Chaitra, in some year in the forties of V.S. 1300, the unit figure being illegible (lines 1-2).

1. *Early Chauhān Dynasties* by Dasharatha Sharma, pp. 142, 159.

CC-0. Gangą Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

It records the gift, at Jābālipura, of some *Vīsala-prī drammas* on the advice of the religious preceptor Śrī Śāntisūri (line 8) by some donors including Ḍhoyala Devī, the wife of Mahanta Gina, her son Rājapāla, for the felicity of their parents (lines 11—13), to the treasury (श्रीकरणे) under the cognisance (प्रतिपत्तौ) of the Pañchakula consisting of (the priest) Kītala and others (line 6), for the purpose of making offerings, performing worship and ceremonies lasting for eight days (अष्टाह्निका, line 14) in the shrine of Lord Mahāvīra (line 7). Out of that sum, 32 *drammas* have been assigned for some special purpose which is not clear (line 20). Finally, the members of the Supervision Committee (गोष्ठिकाः) of the shrine are warned that if they failed to execute the expressed injunctions as long as the sun and moon last, they would be guilty of committing a sin (lines 23—26). At the end, there is a blessing for welfare.

Inscription No. 491 : This inscription of 20 lines, too, is of a similar nature as above. It is dated Monday, the 11th day of the dark half of Chaitra in the V.S. 1361 (A.D. 1304). In this, the Pañchakula is the same, but the preceptor Śrī Śānti Sūri is associated with the monastery Śrī Chandana Vihāra connected with the Nāṇakīya-Gachchha (lines 6—8). It records the donation of *Vīsala-prī drammas* 301, which are deposited in the till (भाण्डागारे) of (the shrine of) Lord Mahāvīra for the sake of making offerings and doing worship (lines 12-13). The cost of the auspicious ceremonies (मांगलीक) like the making of offerings, doing worship, and the waving of lamps (आरात्रिक) is to be met with from the interest (=3 *drammas*) of that sum (lines 15—17). The donars contain the names of Raṇa (?)devī, the wife of Raṇa-(?)sīha, and a provincial Governor (माण्डलिक) Dalasiṁha (?) (lines 9—11). The inscription winds up with the usual warning to the chief of the monastery (मठपति) and the members of the Supervision-Committee, and adds a blessing at the end (lines 18—20).

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

Inscription No. 492 : This inscription of 23 lines is dated Thursday, the 5th day of the dark half of Chaitra in V.S. 1353 (A.D. 1296). It records the gift of a shop (हट्ट) purchased from a perfumer named Ṣa (?)ṁtasīha for *Vīsala-prī drammas* 301, by the minister Gināka along with his family, for the felicity of their son Rāyapāla (lines 13—18). The cost of making the offerings and doing worship to Lord Mahāvīra is to be met with *drammas* 30 out of the rent (भाटक) of that shop. There is the mention of a village Deḍha (?) in line 9 which is said to be bounded by (the lands of) the Goṣṭhika Śreṣṭhisīha, his son (?) Padama, and those brother (?) Rā-ara-sīha (?), and those of Rāyapāla, the son of Dhoyala Devī, the wife of Mahanta Gina. But the real significance of lines 9 to 12 is not clear.

This inscription also ends with a similar warning to the Maṭhapati and the Goṣṭhikas and a blessing as in the other two.

SOME TERMS

1. *Śrī-Karaṇa* : Treasury (Lit. Department of Wealth).

2. *Pañchakula* : A Committee of Five, an institution which has come down from the Mauryan and perhaps pre-Mauryan times. According to Magasthenes, the city of Pāṭaliputra was administered by a Board of 30 divided into six Committees of five members each. The members of a Pañchakula were not mere village leaders recognised as such by the village alone. They had a definite standing and it is not unlikely that the State might have had some hand in the final constitution of the Committee. Chauhān inscriptions show the Pañchakulas taking cognisance only of grants to temples. But their activities actually might have been of a character, much more varied and extensive, as can be seen

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

from contemporary records of the neighbouring kingdoms as well as the *Lekhapaddhati.*[2]

3. *Nāṇkīya-Gachchha*: Like the Digambara sect, the Śvetāmbara sect of the Jainas was also divided into sections and sub-divisions like the Saṁghas, Gaṇas, Gachchhas, etc. The Gachchhas originated from the different Jain teachers, who assumed themselves as heads of their own Gachchhas, alleging difference in religious practices and holding different interpretations of the texts of the Sūtras, i.e., holy scriptures.[3]

The Nāṇakīya-Gachchha derived its name from the village Nānā, modern Narhaḍ, near Pilāni, Jaipur Division, Rājasthān.[4]

4. *Goṣṭhika*: A member of the temple Supervision-Committee.[5]

5. *Vīsala-prī drammas*: Abbreviated form of *Vīsala-priya drammas.* They were silver coins current in the areas which recognized the overlordship of the Chaulukyas of Gujarāt and may be presumed to have been issued by the Vāghela ruler Vīsaladeva (c. 1244—1262 A.D.).[6]

---

2. Vide *Early Chauhān Dynasties,* pp. 204-5, n. 79.

3. Vide *Jain Community—A Social Survey* by Dr. Vilas Adinath Sangave, 1959.

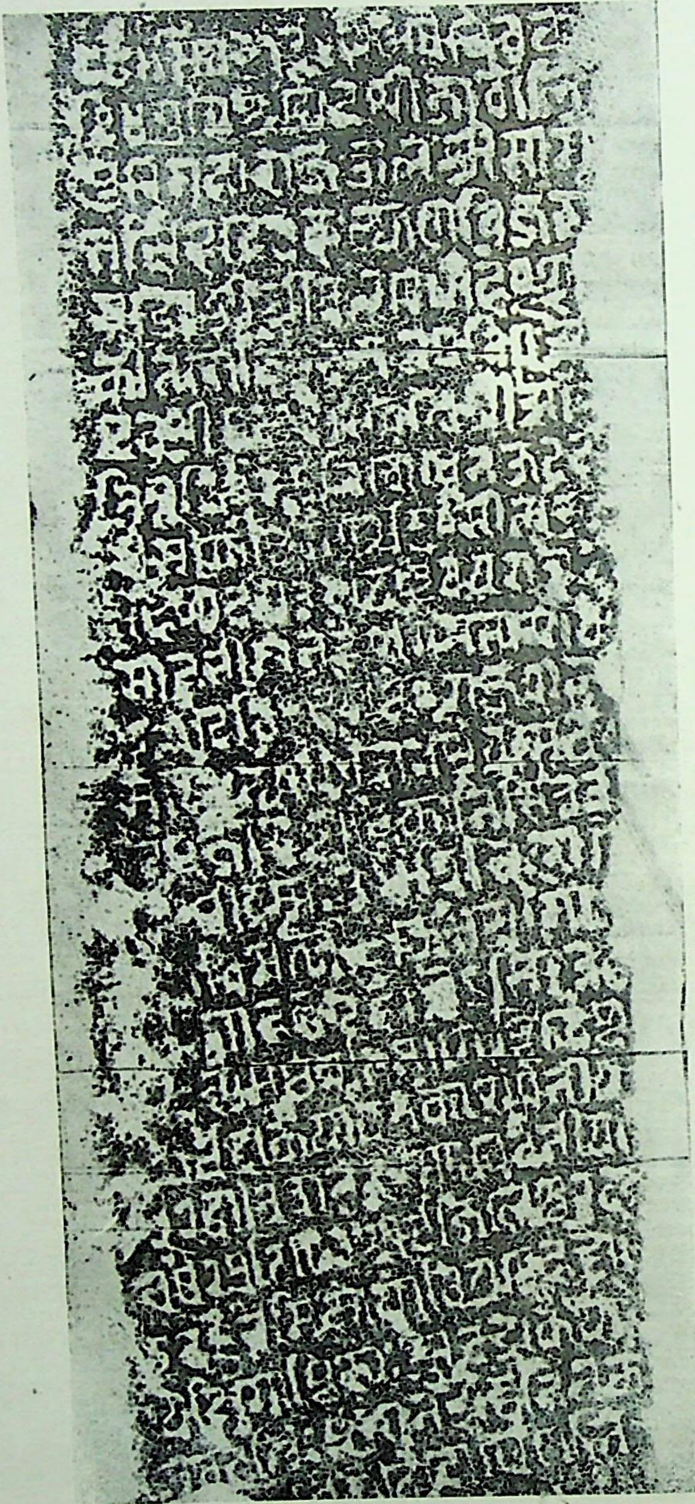
4. *Early Chauhān Dynasties,* p. 312, n. 21.

5. Cf. Sakrāi Stone Inscription, V.S. 699, *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXVII, 1947-48, pp. 27ff.

6. *Early Chauhān Dynasties,* p. 302.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy



Inscription No. 490

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

TEXT OF INSCRIPTION NO. 490

१. ८० ।। संवत् १३४ [*] वर्षे चैत्र व-
२. दि ४ गुरौ अद्येह श्री-जावा(बा)लि-
३. पुरे महाराजकुल श्रीसामं-
४. तसिंहदेव कल्याण विजय-
५. राज्ये श्री श्रीकरणे महं० श्री-
६. कीतलादि—[पंचकु]ल प्रतिपत्तौ
७. देव श्री [महावीर चैत्ये] श्री शां-
८. ति सूरि [गुरु ?] प्रतिवो(बो)धेन ऊद्रट-
९ [ग्रा ?]म [गोष्ठिकं] [* * * *] सीता [?] [*]
१०. [* * * * * *] [भ्रा ?]तृ वय(यं ?) रा[अर ?]-
११. सीह [सीमा ? महं० गि]न भार्या [धो]-
१२. [यल] देवि [पुत्र महं० ?] राजपाल-
१३. मातृ [भ्रातृ ?] पित्रोः श्रेयसे व(ब)-
१४. [लि] पूजा अष्टाह्निका निमित्तं [वी]-
१५. [सल] प्री द्रम्मा ३४[* * * *]-
१६. [* *] वि [*] तृ [* *] के [* ण ?] गा-
१७. [* * *] ाह [* * * * *] सि (?) [* *]
१८. [* * *] गोष्ठपतिना गोष्ठि[कैश्च]
१९. आचंद्रार्कं यावत् कारापनीयं
२०. ३२ द्वात्रिंशत् द्रम्माः वे[द ?]नीया
२१. वर्षं २ प्रति[दिनं ?] श्री [व ?]जिलेश्वर द-
२२. [त्त हट्ट भू ?]मिकायां वि[* *] हट्टे ।।
२३. यदि गोष्ठिकाः आचंद्रार्कं या-
२४. वत् व(ब)लिः पूजा न कुर्वंति न क(का)-
२५. [र]यंति त[दा] ते दोषेण लि-
२६. प्यंते ।। [* *] ।। शुभं भवतु ।।

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

TEXT OF INSCRIPTION NO. 491

१. न० ॥ संवत् १३६१ वषे(र्षे) चैत्र व-

२. दि ११ सोमे [अद्येह] श्री जावा(बा)लिपु-

३. [रे] महाराजकुल श्री [सा]मंतसिंहदे-

४. [व] कल्याण [विज]य रा[ज्ये] तन्नि[यु]क्त।

५. श्री श्रीकरणे महं० [श्री कीतला]दि पं[च]-

६. कुल प्रतिपत्तौ श्री नाणकीयगच्छ-

७. प्रतिव(व)द्ध श्री चंदनविहारे त्र[*] श्री।

८. शांति [सूरि गुरु] प्रतिवो(वो)धेन कोष्टा(ष्ठा)[गा]-

९. राणा(णां) [******] कोष्ट(ष्ठ) [*]रणसि-

१०. ह भार्या [र]णदेवि [***] दलसिंह मां-

११. डलिकाम्यां पि(?)[***कायां) प्रवि[*]

१२. मसि वलि पूजा [नि]मित्त देव श्री महा-

१३. वीर भांडागारे निक्षिप्त वीसलप्री द्र-

१४. म्म[ा:*] ३०१ एकाधिक त्रीणि शतानि। अ-

१५. मीषां द्रम्माणां व्याजेन देव श्रीमहा-

१६. वीरस्य द्रा(द्र०) ३ पूजा व(ब)लि आर(रा)त्रिक मां-

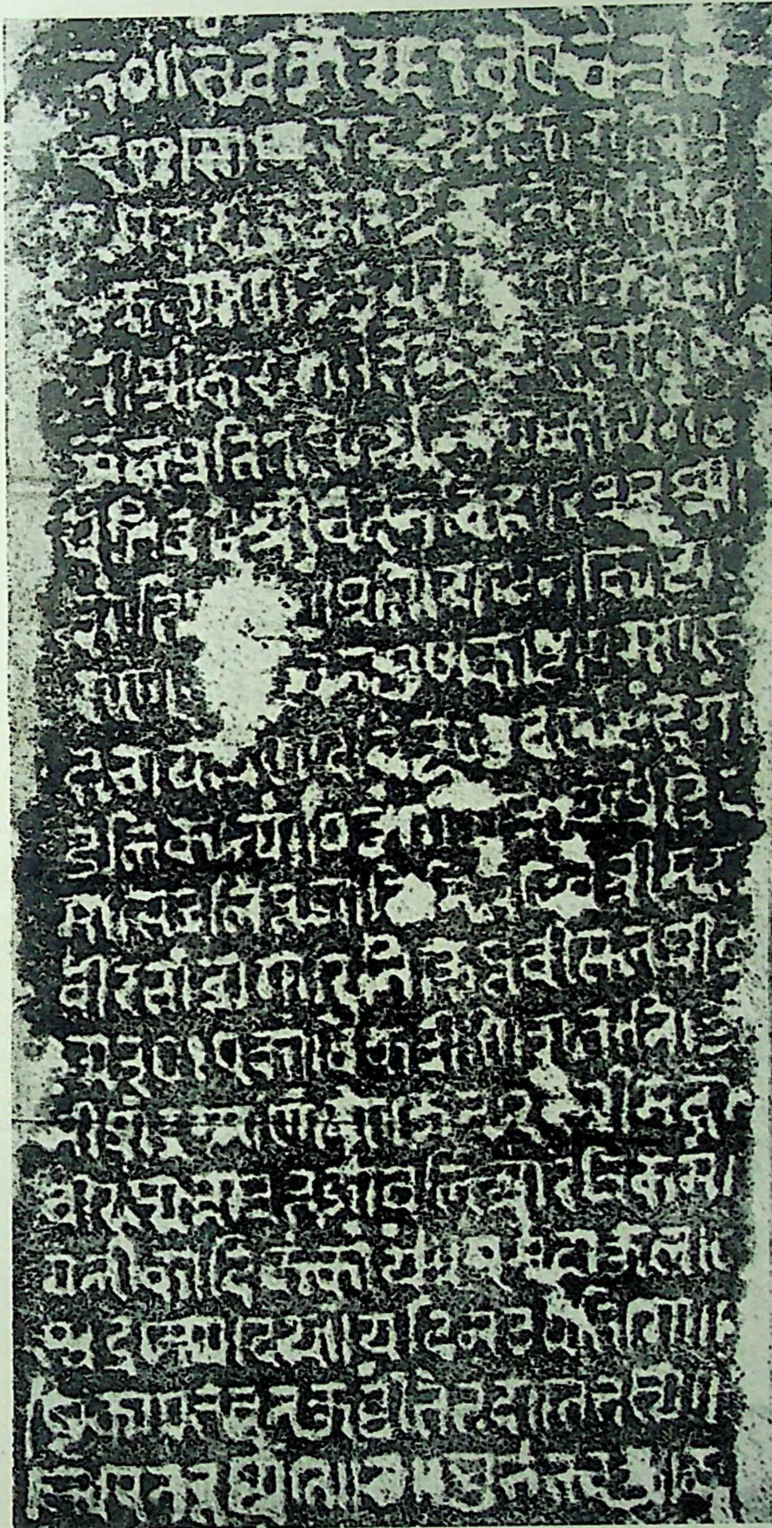
१७. गलीकादिकं कार्यं॥ [५?] महाकुल॥

१८. स्य द्रम्मो(म्मा) देया[:*]। यदि मठपति गो-॥

१९. ष्टि(ष्ठि)का एतद् न कुर्व्वंति तदा ते तस्य॥

२०. लोपेन दूष्यंते॥ [*]॥ शुभं भवतु॥ [*]

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy



Inscription No. 491

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

Inscription No. 492

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

TEXT OF INSCRIPTION NO. 492

१. ८०॥ सं १३५३ वर्षे चैत्र वदि ५

२. [गु]रावद्येह श्री जावा(बा)लिपुरे (म)-

३. हाराजकुल श्री सामंतसिंह दे-

४. व कल्याण विजय राज्ये श्री-श्री-

५. करणे महं कीतलादि पंचकुल-

६. प्रतिपत्तौ श्री नाणकीयगच्छ प्र-

७. [ति]बद्ध देव श्रीमहावीरचैत्ये प्र-

८. [भु?] श्री शांतिसूरि-गुरुप्रतिवो(बो)धेन

९. देढ ग्रामं गोष्टि(ष्ठि)क श्रेष्टि(ष्ठि)सीहा(ह)-

१०. [सु]त महं॰ पदम भ्रातवय(र्य?) राअर-

११. सीह सीमा महं गिन-भार्या धोय-

१२. लदेवि पुत्र महं रायपाल सां(सी)मा

१३. इति कुटुंब सहित मंत्रि गिना-

१४. केन पुत्र रायपाल श्रेयसे [ब]-

१५. लि [पूजा] अष्टाह्निका निमित्तं [*]

१६. [*] वीसलप्री द्र [३०१] एकोत्तरं श-

१७. शतत्रयेण गांधि पदमा षंतसीह-

१८. [हट्टं) गृहीत्वा दत्तं तस्य हट्टस्य [भा]-

१९. [ट]क मध्यात् द्र ३० बलि पूजा [कुरु?]

२०. तां देव श्री महावीरस्य मठप[तिना?]

२१. गोष्टि(ष्ठि)कैराचद्रार्क्कं वे[द?]नी[यं]

२२. यदि न कुर्वंति ते[न?] दोषेण [द्]-

२३. ण्यं(ण्ड्यं)ते [।*] शुभं भवत्(तु) वीसल [द्रम्मा ३०१]

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

INTERPRETATION OF A PASSAGE IN ROCK EDICT IV OF AŚOKA

By SADHU RAM, M.A.*

A passage in the Girnar Rock Edict IV runs thus:

देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राञो धंम-चरणेन भेरी-घोसो अहो धंम-घोसो विमान-दर्सणा च हस्ति-दसणा च अगि-खंधानि च अञानि दिव्यानि रूपानि दसयित्पा जनं यारिसे बहूहिं वाससतेहि न भूतपुवे तारिसे अज वढिते देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राञो धंमानुसस्टिया अनारंभो प्राणानं अविहींसा भूतानं ञातीनं संपटिपती ब्राह्मण-समणानं संपटिपती मातरि पितरि सुस्रुसा थैर-सुस्रुसा

It has been translated by Hultzsch as: "But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures. Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of king Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother (and) father, (and) obedience to the aged."[1]

This interpretation is due to treating from *Devānaṁpriyasa* to *dasayitpā janaṁ* as one sentence and the remaining portion as the next sentence. Other scholars like Drs. Bhandarkar, Mookerji, Romila Thapar, etc., have all followed Hultzsch in this interpretation. The fallacy of this inter-

---

* Retired Teacher, U.G.C. Scholar, Kurukshetra University.

1. E. Hultzsch, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, pp. 7-8.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

pretation lies in taking *Dhammaghoṣo* to mean "a call to *Dhamma* by the beat of drum and the display of various divine spectacles enumerated in the edict". In our opinion, the exhibition of the various divine spectacles with the beat of drum was the older traditional method of rousing religious fervour in the people. This method was replaced by *Dhamma-ghosa,* which did not mean the "beat of drum", but "call to Dhamma," by means of instructions in *Dhamma* (*Dhammānusasṭi*) issued in his edicts by Aśoka. The whole expression becomes clear if we put a stop after *Dhamma-ghosa,* and take the following as one sentence. According to our interpretation, therefore, the passage would be translated by: "But now, owing to the practice of *Dhamma* by king *Devanāṁ*priya Priyadarśin, the Beloved of Gods, the sound of the kettledrum has become the call to *Dhamma.* By exhibiting to the people the (pageants of) heavenly cars, the (processions of) elephants, the columns of fire and other divine representations, such increase had not happend before for hundreds of years as it has been now in the abstention from killing of animals, non-injury to living beings, proper behaviour towards kinsmen, proper behaviour towards Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, dutifulness to mother (and) father, (and) respectful attention to the aged, through the instruction of king Priyadarśin, the Beloved of Gods, in *Dhamma.*"

In support of our interpretation, we may point out that it is not only superfluous to give more than one reason for the change of *bherī-ghosa* to *Dhamma-ghosa,* but also ungrammatical, for one of them (*Dhamma-charaṇena*) is in the instrumental and others in the ablative (*vimāna-darsaṇā,* etc.) and the gerund (*dasayitpā*). Again, the sense remains incomplete with the use of *yārise* at the beginning of the sentence without mentioning in contrast to *Dhammanusasṭi* of Aśoka, the traditional means which failed to effect increase in the virtues mentioned in the edict to the extent achieved

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

by the instruction in *Dhamma.* According to our interpretation, those traditional means are supplied by the phrase *vimāna-darsaṇā, hasti-darsaṇa,* etc.

Moreover, it is not in keeping with the spirit of Aśoka to make a display of spectacles and tableaux in order to attract people to his way of *Dhamma.* His method is of direct appeal to the human heart by simple and straightforward statements regarding virtues and their reward in this and the next world. Reference to *svaga* (heaven) by Aśoka. is, according to Romila Thapar, only "an attempt to relate the degree of reward to a known and valued symbol in the mind of the average person reading the edict. According to the religious and philosophical systems of the time, the attainment of heaven was a worthwhile reward."[2]

In the light of the above, the exhibition of spectacles cannot be taken into the category of *samājas* approved of by Aśoka in Rock Edict I. Those *samājas* must have been intellectual gatherings in which discussions and debates on religious topics were held. Had such exhibitions been the approved method for the propagation of *Dhamma,* Aśoka must have issued instructions to his *Dhamma-mahāmātās* to hold them from time to time. But, in none of the edicts we find such instructions.

2. Romila Thapar, *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas,* p. 149.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

REBELLION OF KHAN SAHIB OF MADURAI, 1764

By Dr. K. Rajayyan*

Born of Hindu parents in Ramnad but converted to Islam early in his life, and distinguished himself in the service of the Nawab of the Carnatic, the French and subsequently of the English, Khan Sahib, otherwise called Yusuf Khan, assumed the governorship of Madurai in July 1759. Appointed by the English with the approval of Nawab of Arcot as governor for one year, in the first instance, his term was extended later on by three years. The efficiency of his government, toleration extended to people of other faiths and attempts made for the improvement of the lot of the peasants made him popular with the inhabitants. He paid the rent with regularity, but in 1763 made preparations for rebellion. He presented a powerful challenge to the authority not only of the English but of the Nawab of Arcot. The rebellion is significant, for Madurai under him made a serious attempt to emerge as a powerful country like Mysore and to free itself from the rule of the Nawab and the domination of the English. The present article is an attempt to give a succinct account of the circumstances leading to the rebellion, the clash of arms and the final success of the Nawab and the English.

The circumstances leading to the outbreak of rebellion may be noted. Under the prevailing circumstances a public servant of great ability found it possible to build up his strength and to defy the central authority. Khan Sahib was no exception. Subject to the payment of the rent, he was left absolutely free. Neither did the Nawab nor the Madras Council seek to restrict the strength of his forces or to regu-

* Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

late his relations with the other powers. An organising genius and a man of proved ability, he utilised the opportunity that favoured him to build up his military power. But this did not essentially indicate that he contemplated upon rebellion, because army was essential even for the enforcement of circar authority. In fact, if Khan Sahib had ever cherished an idea of rebellion in the beginning, he would not have alienated several powers and frittered away his resources in interminable wars against the poligars, Hyder Ali and the Rajah of Travancore. On the other hand he would have tried to enlist their support for organising resistance. Hence it does not appear that he toyed with the idea of independence during the first years of his governorship. The first striking evidences of his determination to defy the Nawab's government are furnished by his settlement with Travancore and his alliance with the French by the beginning of 1763.

Analysing the various developments leading to the rebellion, one would gain the impression that unpleasantness grew into suspicion, and suspicion into conflict—a process to which Mohammad Ali, the Nawab of Arcot, set the ball rolling.

Though Khan Sahib was a fellow Muslim, Mohammad Ali always entertained a dislike for him. This is indicated not only by the Nawab's opposition to stationing him at Madurai as commander of the forces of the English Company, but also by subsequent machinations. He left no stone unturned in sowing the seeds of hatred in the relations of the Madras Council with its servant. In his letters to Lord Pigot he charged Khan Sahib that the latter constructed forts at Nattam[1] and that he sought the aid of the Marawars, Tanjore, the Danes, the Dutch and the French in preparation

---

1. Mohammad Ali, 4 February 1763, letter to Madras Council, Military Country Correspondence, Vol. 11, pp. 41-42.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

for rebellion.[2] Really, these charges lacked substance. He constructed mud-forts at Nattam in order to keep the Kallans in awe and to protect the country from any possible incursions from Mysore.[3] It was a prevailing practice to seek the aid of the other powers—either in troops or in war-materials. Even Alexander Heron, the British Commander, utilised the services of the rulers of Ramnad and Sivaganga for the military operations against the rebels of Madurai in 1755. Khan Sahib obtained supplies of gun powder and other stores from the Danish and Dutch merchants. He entertained the French deserters in his service, but that was with the consent of the Madras Council. These were all intended apparently for the enforcement of order.[4]

A state of strained relations developed when Lord Pigot, the Governor of Madras, yielding to the tactics of Mohammad Ali, decided to place Khan Sahib under the Nawab's administration. Khan Sahib looked upon the Madras Council as his superior and paid the rent to it accordingly. But in January 1762 Lord Pigot directed him to remit the rent to the Nawab.[5] This suggestion meant the subjection of a servant of the Company to the authority of a ruler who had no sympathy for him, the exposition of the former to exactions and other annoyances by the latter and the withdrawal of the Madras Council's confidence from its general. High-spirited and self-proud, Khan Sahib kept his own counsels and decided never to subject himself to the Nawab. S.C. Hill, who wrote a historical sketch on Khan Sahib, considers

---

2. Mohammad Ali, 12 February 1763, letter to Madras Council, Ibid, Vol. 11, pp. 59–63.

3. Kumara Lingam of Nattam, letter to Madras Council, received on 26 December 1760, Ibid, Vol. 8, p. 382.

4. S. C. Hill, *Yusuf Khan, The Rebel Commandant* (London, 1914), p. 106.

5. Lord Pigot in Council, 29 January 1762, Military Consultations, Vol. 16, p. 27.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

this as the cause of the rebellion,[6] but this was really a prelude.

Subsequent developments tended to worsen the situation. As Khan Sahib neglected to remit the rent to the Nawab's treasury, Lord Pigot sent peremptory orders in September 1762 directing him to return to Madras.[7] But as the troops of Travancore committed aggression on Tinnevelly, in the meantime, Khan Sahib replied that he would comply with the order soon after the expulsion of the invaders. Felt aggrieved, he expressed his resentment at the indifferent attitude of the Madras Council to the aggression and characterised its order as the outcome of the malicious advice given by the Nawab.[8] But Lord Pigot, without due appreciation of the great risk which his general took in his wars against a formidable force mobilised by Travancore, condemned Khan Sahib's policy towards Travancore,[9] and ordered military operations against Madurai. Khan Sahib, on the other hand, made a settlement with Travancore and prepared for resistance with the aid of the French.

Thus, the leading factors which contributed to the outbreak of the rebellion were as follows:—

Khan Sahib neglected to take either the Nawab or the Madras Council into his confidence at every stage of his proceedings of questionable nature. The revenue improved,

---

6. S. C. Hill, *Yusuf Khan;* pp. 110-111.

7. Lord Pigot, 7 September 1762, letter to Yusuf Khan, Military Country Correspondence, Vol. 10, p. 291.

8. Yusuf Khan, 11 November 1762, letter to Madras Council, Ibid, Vol. 10, p. 299.

9. Lord Pigot condemned the policy of Khan Sahib towards Travancore in these categorical terms: "Are you a sovereign that you take upon you to make war upon independent states? You are I fear grown giddy with power...... If you rather choose to set me at defiance, you may repent too late, consider well what you do."

(Lord Pigot, 24 November 1762, letter to Yusuf Khan, Military Country Correspondence, Vol. 10, pp. 300-301).

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

but the rent appeared disproportionately small. Lord Pigot yielding to the pressure of Nawab Mohammad Ali, attempted to place Khan Sahib under the direct control of the latter ignoring his meritorious services. When Khan Sahib refused to subordinate himself to the Nawab, he incidentally defied the order of the Madras Council. Lord Pigot now recalled his general, but the latter evaded compliance citing the aggressions committed by the Rajah of Travancore on Tinnevelly. The English, thereupon, took military measures, and Khan Sahib, on the other hand, decided to resist with the assistance of the French and Hyder Ali. Nevertheless as Khan Sahib was only a servant who owed his elevation to the Madras Council, he does not stand exonerated from the charge of attempting to establish his independence.[10]

During the early part of the year 1763 the rebel governor made vigorous preparations for building up his strength. He repaired the fort of Madurai, made fresh recruits and posted the Kallans to guard the northern frontier of Madurai. In an attempt to win the support of the people, he declared that the Hindus were the real owners of the country. He announced his intention to restore the country to the deposed Nāyaks of Madurai and himself to serve as minister.[11] To strengthen his position further, he sought the alliance of

10. Lord Pigot who was mainly responsible for the appointment of Khan Sahib in the governorship of Madurai was very much concerned at the reports that the latter intended to rebel, particularly because he was afraid that his own reputation was at stake. In fact, as he was due to return to England, he was forced to deal with the rebellion in a hury. (Lord Pigot, 7 September, 1762, letter to Yusuf Khan, Military Country Correspondence, Vol. 10, p. 291).

11. Mohammad Ali, 7 April 1763, letter to Madras Council, Military Country Corespondence, Vol. 11, p. 154.

The Nawab who was alarmed at the determination of Khan Sahib to enthrone the Nāyak prince, declared that Mīnākṣī was the last of the Nāyaks and no heir to the Nāyaks had survived. He characterised the move of Khan Sahib as an endeavour to destroy the authority of himself and of the Company. (Mohammad Ali, 26 March 1763, letter to Madras Council, Military Country Correspondence, Vol. 11, pp. 130-131).

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

several powers. He successfully persuaded the rulers of Ramnad and Sivaganga to furnish 4,000 of their troops for his aid.[21] He also entered into correspondence with Hyder Ali, the Nizam and the French for enlisting their support. Hyder Ali agreed to send 4,000 sepoys and 2,000 horses to serve at Madurai.[13] According to the scheme of their joint military operations, Hyder Ali and Khan Sahib decided to make simultaneous attacks on Arcot and Trichinopoly respectively.[14] However, Khan Sahib's effort to win the support of the Nizam did not succeed, as the latter insisted upon a payment of thirty lakhs of rupees as condition thereto.[15] But he settled an alliance with the French and hoisted their flag

---

12. Mohammad Ali, 1 March 1763, letter to Madras Council, Military Country Correspondence, Vol. 11, p. 90.

13. A Cadjan from Alagappa Mudali to his Vakeel at Arcot, no date, Ibid, Vol. 9, p. 119.

14. Mohammad Ali, 7 April 1763, letter to Madras Council, Ibid, Vol. 11, p. 154.

In return for the aid of Mysore, Khan Sahib restored Periyakulam in Dindigul, captured in 1760. S. C. Hill is of the view that beyond some supplies and permission to recruit troops in Mysore, Hyder Ali did not render any help. He proceeds to tell that Hyder Ali did not extend aid probably because he was afraid that Khan Sahib would turn his rival. (*Yusuf Khan, pp.* 145-146).

But th view of Hill is not absolutely correct. It was true that Hyder Ali did not extend any great assistance to Khan Sahib. This was because he was forced to send his troops to suppress the Rajahs of Malabar and was threatened with a Maratha invasion. (W. Miles, (ed.) *Kirmani's History of Hyder Naik,* (London, 1842), p. 162.

In 1764 Hyder Ali wrote a letter to Khan Sahib stating: "I regard you as my own in every respect and esteem your country and army as my own also", thus asserting his comradeship with the rebel (Hyder Naik, no date, letter to Yusuf Khan, Military Country Correspondence, Vol. 12, p. 375).

Besides, in February 1764 he sent an army under the command of Yar Khan Sulaiman to join Khan Sahib. Hyder Ali, no date, letter to Yusuf Khan, Military Country Correspondence, Vol. 12, p. 57).

15. Mohammad Ali, 11 March 1764, letter to Madras Council, Military Country Correspondence, Vol. 12, p. 57.

This official letter contradicts the view of S. C. Hill that Nizam Ali, the Nizam who deposed Salabat Jung in June 1762, had granted a sanad appointing Khan Sahib as the Nawab of Madurai (*Yusuf Khan,* p. 132).

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

on the ramparts of Madurai in March 1763.[16] In consequence of these combinations, a local rebellion assumed complex proportions.

Nevertheless the success of the rebellion depended upon the precarious support of the allies. The French were, no doubt, anxious to extend assistance but its steadiness depended upon the duration of the Anglo-French hostilities in Europe. In August, 1763 when the news of the conclusion of the Peace of Paris terminating the Seven Years War reached Pondicherry, the French withdrew their official support.[17] The affairs of Mysore in the meantime were so confused that Hyder Ali found it precarious to send any considerable army to join Khan Sahib.[18] Before long, he lost the support of the Marawa powers—Ramnad and Sivaganga—too. As the rulers of these states refused to surrender some of the chiefs who fled to their woods, Khan Sahib unwisely raided Sivaganga in July 1763. The result was that he alienated the sympathy of the Marawars.[19] Ultimately he had to rely upon his own resources—his forces consisting of 2,000 cavalry, 600 European mercenaries, 10,000 sepoys and numerous Kallans.[20]

Against the camp of the rebels was the army of the Nawab strongly backed by the might of the Company. Two factors in particular weighed with Lord Pigot in giving prompt and steadfast support to Mohammad Ali for crushing the rebellion. They were: Khan Sahib allied himself with

---

16. Mohammad Ali, 17 March 1763, letter to Madras Council, Ibid, Vol. 11 p. 109.

17. Mohammad Ali, 17 March 1763, letter to Madras Council, Ibid, Vol. 11, p. 227.

18. W. Miles, (ed.) *Kirmani's History of Hyder Naik*, p. 162.

19. Colonel Monson, 24 August 1763, letter to Lawrence, Military Consultations, Vol. 19, p. 484 and Lawrence, 12 and 13 July 1763, letters, Military Consultations, Vol. 18, pp. 370—372.

20. Mohammad Ali, 21 August 1763, letter to Madras Council, Military Country Correspondence, Vol. 11, p. 227.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

the French, the bitter foes of Great Britain and hoisted their colours; and he felt that the rebellion, left uncrushed, would encourage the numerous tributaries to defy the Nawab's government.[21]

There were two roads leading from Trichinopoly to Madurai. The direct road passed through a narrow pass at Nattam, between huge rocks hemmed in by jungles of excessive thickness.[22] As it was a place of strategic importance, Khan Sahib wisely strengthened its defences by constructing forts well manned by the Kallans.[23] As the northern border of Madurai was thus made unassailable, an expeditionary force could take the circuitous eastern route which passed through Pudukkottai and Sivaganga. Because Tondaiman, ruler of Pudukkottai, was an ally of the Nawab, the Madras Council anticipated no objection to sending an army through his territory. On the other hand, it was feared that the rulers of the Marawa states would obstruct the progress of the army. Therefore General Lawrence, who assumed the general command of the operations, persuaded the rulers not to act against the interests of the Nawab. Angered at Khan Sahib's raid on Sivaganga, the Marawa kings readily agreed to allow a free passage to the forces.[24] Thus there remained no impediments to sending the expedition through the eastern road.

In August 1763 the main body of the British troops led by Colonel Monson entered Madurai from the north-east.

---

21. Madras Council, 7 June and 3 September 1763, Military Despatches to England, Vol. 3, pp. 87 and 94.

22. Major Preston, 13 March 1763, letter to Lord Pigot, Military Consultations, Vol. 18, p. 149.

23. Major Preston, 20 March 1763, letter to Lord Pigot, Ibid, Vol. 18, p. 194.

24. Lawrence, 12 and 13 July, letter to Lord Pigot, Military Consultations, Vol. 18, pp. 370—372 and Colonel Monson, 24 August 1763, letter to Lawrence, Military Consultations, Vol. 19, p. 484.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

A detachment of the Nawab's troops advanced upto Nattam and cut off the communications of the rebels with Mysore. On the 23rd of August the Company's forces reduced the forts of Triumbore and Trivadoor, thus clearing the way for an assault on the city of Madurai. The French now, raised a legal objection. M. Maudave, a French officer in the service cl Khan Sahib. claimed Madurai as a French territory by virtue of a treaty with Khan Sahib and demanded that the latter should be given the benefit of the suspension of arms as agreed between France and Great Britain at the end of the Seven Years' War.[25] But Lord Pigot ignored the demand.

On the 2nd of September 1763 the forces charged the cavalry of the rebels on the outskirts of the city; but were defeated in a counter-attack. Heavy rain-fall impeded the operation. Monson reconnoitered the stronghold of the rebels, but found the walls well manned. Doubting the suc-

---

25. Lord Pigot in Council, 22 September 1763, Military Consultations, Vol. 69, p. 576.

On an examination of the 11th Article of the Treaty of Paris, it appears that the French demand was partially justified. A distinction is made between those places which were conquered by the French from the English and other acquisitions made by the French since the beginning of the year 1749. While the French were bound to restore the first category of the territories to the English, they were not to do so in the case of the second. It followed that as Madurai was an allied country of the French—if the interpretation could be so extended—it fell under the second category. However, the same article of the Treaty recognised Mohammad Ali as the Nawab of the Carnatic. The two conditions, therefore virtually came into conflict. In consequence, the balance between the two rested upon Nawab's recognition of Madurai as part of his country or otherwise. Naturally he would consider it as part of the Carnatic only.

Lord Pigot in a communication to Lawrence indirectly endorsed the French view. He directed the general that if the enterprise against Madurai should be abandoned a declaration be sent to the French, setting forth that as the French claimed it as their territory, he, in consideration of averting hostility, withdrew the siege. He also directed the general to convey the hope of the Madras Council that the French would restore Madurai to the Nawab as soon as they received the authorisation from Paris. (Lord Pigot in Council, 21 September 1763, Military Consultations, Vol. 19, p. 571).

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

cess of an assault because of the rains and the strength of the fort, he suggested the suspension of the operations.[26] But Lord Pigot and General Lawrence directed Monson to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour for fear that if the siege were to be postponed to another season; it might be deferred altogether and Khan Sahib would become too formidable to the arms of the Company.[27] On the 24th of September the British and Nawab's forces began a seige; but their endeavour to make a practicable breach failed. Thereupon, Monson, who was ever anxious to postpone the siege, returned from Madurai, after entrusting the command with Major Preston.[28]

In an effort to weaken the rebels, Preston reduced a number of posts established by Khan Sahib at the strategic places. He marched to Nattam and captured the barriers held by the Kallans. Hyder Ali sent a body of troops for the aid of the rebels in January, 1764, but Preston intercepted it at Nattam and drove it back.[29] In April the forces marched to the province of Tinnevelly. On the approach of Preston, the rebels evacuated the fort of Srivalliputtur. The fall of this fort exposed the rebel poligars of the west to a possible British reprisal. Alarmed at this, the poligars, abandoned the cause of Khan Sahib and went over to the Nawab's side. Meanwhile Captain Hart captured Nemily, situated near Tinnevelly, and set up his post near Palamkottai.[30] The harassed rebels attacked the newly established

---

26. Colonel Monson, 16 September 1763, letter to Lawrence, Military Consultations, Vol. 19, p. 557.
27. Lord Pigot in Council, 20 September 1763, Ibid, Vol. 19, p. 559.
28. Robert Palk in Council, 18 November 1763, Ibid, Vol. 19, p. 661.
29. Robert Palk in Council, 6 February, 1764, Ibid, Vol. 20, p. 67.
30. Robert Palk in Council, 12 April 1764, Ibid., Vol. 20, p. 217.
    Robert Palk in Council, 17 April 1764, Ibid., Vol. 20, p. 231.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

post but were dispersed.[31] When these operations were in progress, an English detachment landed at Tondi and began a drive against the rebels from the east. Khan Sahib, in consequence, lost control of the eastern districts of Madurai. In June 1764 the Nawab with a body of troops and a detachment from Bombay arrived at Madurai.[32] Abandoned by the poligars and deprived of the possession of the territories, the rebels found their position extemely precarious. Khan Shahib now treated for peace. He requested to be permitted to continue as governor and promised to pay seven lakhs of rupees as the yearly rent. But Preston directed him to surrender unconditionally.[33] The hostilities, therefore, continued.

In June 1764 Major Donald Campbell, who assumed the command of the forces, ordered the renewal of the siege of Madurai. By the 20th a few practicable breaches were battered open. Despite heavy rains the storming party scaled the walls at several points. The rebels, on the other hand, hidden in the small enclaves of the walls, kept the pikes driving against the assailants or hurled a shower of stones, hand grenades and shells on the advancing columns. The siege continued until the English lost 160 of their troops. Failing to reach the summits of the breaches, the storming party made a humiliating retreat.[34] In support of the rebels, Hyder Ali made an incursion into Trichinopoly, but did

---

31. Campbell, 4 May 1764, letter to Madras Council, Ibid, Vol. 20, P. 250.

32. Umdut ul Umra, 2 June 1764, letter to Madras Council, Military Country Correspondence, Vol. 12, pp. 226-227.

33. Madras Council, 20 October 1764, Military Despatches to England, Vol. 3, pp. 153—156.

34. Campbell, 26 June 1764, letter to Madras Council, Military Consultations, Vol. 20, p. 364.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

not march to the rescue of Maduari as the borders were well guarded.[35]

After the failure of the assault, the forces of the Nawab and the Company blockaded the fort. Hard pressed for provisions, the rebels again made overtures to the Nawab. On the 10th of September M. Marchand, a French officer in the service of Khan Sahib offered to evacuate Madurai in return for permission to go off in security to Dindigul.[36] But Mohammad Ali and Campbell, well acquainted with the enterprising genius of Khan Sahib, demanded unconditional surrender of the garrison.[37] Marchand, thereupon, asked permission for the safe departure of Khan Sahib with his family, but that too was refused.[38]

In consequence, the furious Khan Sahib decided to resist to the bitter end. But his followers, concerned at the shortage of provisions and security of their lives, vacillated in their loyalty. Marchand, failing to persuade Khan Sahib to submit, even entered into a plot with the sardars of the fort, leading to the arrest of Khan Sahib on the 13th of October. Now, the French general offered to surrender the fort on condition of the Nawab granting them amnesty, and means of support, together with a month's pay. Believing that the surrender of the fort was only a matter of time, the Nawab agreed to grant the rebels their lives, but rejected the other conditions. Baffled in their attempt at securing favourable terms from the Nawab and threatened with the possibility of Khan Sahib regaining his freedom, Marchand and

35. Umdut ul Umra, 15 July 1764, letter to Madras Council, Military Country Correspondence, Vol. 12, p. 254.

36. Yusuf Khan, 17 September 1764, letter to Madras Council, Ibid, Vol. 12, p. 296.

37. Madras Council, 20 October 1764, Military Despatches to England, Vol. 3, pp. 153–156.

38. Cambell, 16 September 1764, letter to Madras Council, Military Consultations, Vol. 21, p. 67.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

his associates found their position in a precarious dilemma. Still as they had to incline towards one side or the other, they preferred the less risky. They surrendered the fort in return for the general pardon granted by the Nawab.[39] On the 14th of October Mohammad Ali entered the fort and hoisted his colours. The rebel governor and his family were taken prisoners..[40] On the 16th October the Nawab executed Khan Sahib, taking full vengeance thereby.[41] After the acquisition of Madurai, Campbell dispersed numerous rebel groups. A large body of the followers of Khan Sahib who formed the hard core, fled towards Karur, but were attacked and subdued.[42] On the 23rd of October the forces appeared before Tinnevelly. The rebels, dispirited at the fall of their chief, surrendered the fort of Palamkottai.[43] This acquisition completed the victory of the Nawab over the rebels.

The rebellion of Khan Sahib marks an attempt made by a resourceful and resolute governor to exploit the maladies which afflicted the working of the central authority in the Carnatic. The Nawab of Arcot exercised sovereignty but his ally, the English Company appointed Khan Sahib as

39. Robert Palk in Council, 27 October 1764, Military Consultations, Vol. 21, p. 735.

40. Mohammad Ali, 14 October, 1764, letter to Madras Council, Military Country Correspondence, Vol. 12, p. 354.

41. Mohammad Ali, 16 October 1764, letter to Madras Council, Ibid, Vol. 12, p. 353.

When Khan Sahib was awarded a medal for gallantry and loyalty on 27th March 1755, Lord Pigot, Lawrence and Bourchier were present on that occasion. When an expedition was sent to Madurai, Lord Pigot and his Council who were well aware what the fate of Khan Sahib would be if he were handed over to the Nawab, directed Lawrence to capture and send him to Madras, perhaps to show him clemency. But Lawrence declared that as Khan Sahib usurped the Nawab's country, he must be handed over to the Nawab. (S. C. Hill *Yusuf Khan*, p. 143). Robert Palk (1763—7) who was the governor of Fort St. George in 1764 did not intervene on behalf of Khan Sahib.

42. Robert Palk in Council, 12 November 1764, Military Consultations, Vol. 1, p. 794.

43. Mohammad Ali, 23 October 1764, letter to Madras Council, Military Country Correspondence, Vol. 12, p. 381.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

governor of Madurai. Prevented by mutual jealousy in the exercise of powers, neither did the Nawab nor did the Madras Council enforce any definite control over the local governor. Subject to the payment of a nominal rent, they left Khan Sahib absolutely free. The Governor combined in himself both civil as well as military authority. He was left free to collect taxes, to recruit troops and to establish relations with other powers. Naturally, these favourable circumstances prepared the ground for the rebellion. Instead of rectifying the defects in the system, the Nawab and the English applied a belated military solution.

The eighteenth century was a period of anarchy in India. It witnessed the steady decline of the Moghal Empire and the establishment of independent states upon its ruins by generals and governors. In South India the Carnatic and Mysore emerged as powerful kingdoms. They too experienced long periods of turmoil in consequence of struggle for power. As Hyder Ali consolidatad his strength in Dindigul before he captured power in Mysore, Khan Sahib, a talented leader who excelled the former both as a soldier and as an administrator, aimed at the assertion of his independence. Madurai with its long tradition of independent existence, separated from the rest of the country by the jungles of Nattam and the mountains of the west, offered the needed facilities. When Hyder Ali won, Khan Sahib failed. This was more because of British alliance with the Nawab than because of any military weakness of the rebellion. In the defeat of Khan Sahib was the failure of Madurai to regain its independence from the rulers of the north. An independent Madurai under Khan Sahib held out the hope of the rise of a powerful state in South India as Mysore did under Hyder Ali. In conflict with Mysore it would have facilitated British expansionism while in alliance, it would have presented a formidable barrier to it.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

"GLORIES OF THE LATER VEERASAIVA RULERS OF THE SANGAMA DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE," ON CHRONOLOGICAL BASIS

By B. V. Sreenivasa Rao, m.a., m.r.a.s. (ceylon), f.r.a.s. (london)

(Continued from page 70 Vol. XX–XXI Parts 1–4)

A.D. 1425

(Corresponding to Kali 4526, Saka 1346-47 Chaitradi Vikrama, 1482, Meshadi (Solar) year in Bengal 831, Kollam 599-600, Krodhin Samvatsara).

1. Bukka III alias Vijaya or Vijayabhupati (who reigned a few months 1422 A.D., who married Narayani) had only one son, whose name was Deva Raya. From the Satyamangalam, Sajjalur and Srisailam plates, we learn that there was an elder son Devaraya and a younger son Pratapa Devaraya and Virupaksha III was the son of the above said Pratapa Devaraya, vide E.I. Vol. III 37, E.C. III, M1. 121 E.I. XV 8.

2. The Madras Museum plates (vide E.I. VIII 306) and the Satyamangalam plates state that "Śrigirindra was governing the Marakatanagara, on November 3rd 1424-25 A.D. and Pratapa Devaraya was reigning the same Marakatanagara, on June 26th 1425 A.D. This would imply that Śrigirindra and Pratapa Devaraya were one and the same person. Virupaksha was the son of Śrigirindra (vide page 400, Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, by S. K. Iyengar, "A" the first Sangama Dynasty).

3. Vijaya's another son Mahamandaleswara Vira Parvatiraya Odeyar was ruling over Terakanambi province. He hunted a Boar on his horse called Parvatinatha in 1425 A.D. (vide E.C. IV Chamarajanagar 195) and in the same year made a grant to a Bhakta on his building a town in his (Par-

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

vathiraya's) name (vide E.C. IV Chamarajanagar 105 vide P. 1558-59 Mys. Gaz. Vol. II Part III R.H.R.).

4. Vijaya in 1425 A.D. the father of Devaraya the II is known as Heroic King, a rising sun to the lotus, the heart of the goddess of learning. He was a learned King, patron of scholars (vide E.C. IX Devanahalli No. 81 vide P. 1559 Mys. Gaz. Vol. II Part III R.H.R.

5. By his queen Narayanambike, Vijayaraya had three sons vide, E.I. III page 307-308.

(i) Devaraya II who succeeded him.

(ii) Viraparvathiraya Odeya, the Governor of Terakanambi province in 1425 A.D.

(iii) Srigiri Bhupala, the Governor of Marakatanagara prantha, in 1424 A.D. vide P. 1563, Mys. Gaz. Vol. II Part III R.H.R.

6. Mangalure rajya was under Naganna Odeya in 1425 A.D. vide M.E.R. 1901, Appendix No. 25, vide Mys. Gaz. Vol. II Part III R.H.R.

7. Barakuru rajya in 1425 A.D. was administered by Narasimhadeva Odeya, vide M.E.R. 1901, No. 171 vide Mys. Gaz. Vol. II Part III R.H.R.

8. Mahalingadeva wrote Ekottara Sata Sthala. He wrote commentary on Prabhudevara Ṣaṭsthalajñana Charita. Vide page 50 Dvitiyasampuṭa Karnataka Kavicharitre by R. Narasīmhacharya.

9. Alagia Manavala the great Nainar Acharya, returned to Srirangam when he was 55 years old i.e. , in 1425 A.D. vide P. 117-118 Q.J.M.S. Vol. VII Jan. 1937.

10. In 1425 A.D. Narasimha Odeya had the title of Mahamantri. He was governor of Barakuru vide P. 5 to 17, Prabhuddhakarnataka, samputa 40, sanchike 3, Vilambi samvatsara, Asvayuja sanchike, Mys. Univ. 1958.

11. An envoy of the Chinese Emperor, yong-lo (1403—1425 A.D.) a medieval travellor was the first to give an ac-

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

count of Cochin, vide P. 162, History of Kerala, by K. P. Padmanabhan Vol. I.

12. Ittikombi Raja of Palaghat built Kalpati temple at Palghat (dedicated to Siva) in 1425 A.D. vide P. 455 Gazetteers of Malabar and Anjengo Districts, by C.A. Innes. Vol. I. 1915, edited by F. B. Evans.

13. Historical Masulipatam is heard for the first time in 1425 A.D. A mosque was built at Masulipatam for the use of Muslim soldiers, who were freely entertained by Hindu Prince vide P. 19 Journal of the Hyderabad Arch-Society 1918.

14. In 1425 A.D., Srigiribhupala made a grant of land to Sampatkumarapandita and his relatives, and other learned men. Sampatkumarapandita was a scholar in medicine (Ayurveda) vide Madras Museum plates of Srigiribhupala SS. 1346 P. 306—308 in E.I Vol. VIII 1905-1906.

15. Bukkanna Odeyar is called Devaragal Nayan in 1425-26 A.D. vide P. 23, No. 519, G.O. No. 518 Public 18th July, 1905 M.E.R.

16. Registers an order of Salakkaya Nayakkar, the agent of Mahapradhani Mallarasaodeyar, to the weavers and other craftsman of Tiruppulivanam in Pulivananadu, which was a tirunamattukkan of the taxes on the several professions to be paid annually to the temple of Vyaghrapuriswara temple at Tiruppulivanam, Conjeevaram Tq Chingulput District vide P. 82 No. 214, A.R.S.I.E. for the year 1922-23.

17. Remission of taxes, in the village of Kavidu for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the temple of Tiruvagattisvaramudaiyanayinar, for the long reign of the king Chinnammaraj, the officer (Adhikaranam) in Idailurai, and three other persons vide P. 52, No. 134, A.R.S.I.E. for 1923-24.

18. Narasimhadeva Odeya, while governing Barakuru rajya, under the orders of Hariyappadandanayaka, renewed in the presence of the god Kundeswara of Kundapur (S.K.)

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

with the consent of the people, the grant of land which had been made by Senabova Devanna to the temple (vide P 54 No. 365 A.R. for 1926-27 South Indian Epigraphy).

19. Endowment of land by the residents of Anna-Naidumbaru etc., to the teacher, Vidyātmatirtha for the construction of a matta at Kadekar, with the image of Gopinathadeva, installed in it and for the conduct of worship of the deity by his disciple Viswapatitirtha, while Narasimhadeva Odeya was governing Barakuru Rajya. This Kadekar is in Udupi Taluk (S.K.) vide P. 56, No. 571, A.R. for the year 1929-30.

20. Mahapradhana Bhanappa Odeya was a ruler from Honnavara. Fight took place between Bhanappa Odeya (Mahapradhana) of Honnavar and Keshava odeya of Nagire. In this battle one Devannanayaka fell fighting on the battle field. vide No. 47 of 1939-40 PP. 108—110 Karnataka Inscriptions Vol. I edited by R. S. Panchamukhi.

21. In 1425 A.D. part of the present Bangalore District was known as Shivanasamudra-sime after Sivasamudram another name of Hesaraghatta vide P. 40-41 Mys. Gaz. Vol. V R.H.R.

22. Manavala Mahamuni's final settlement at (Srirangam took place about 1425 A.D. and impressed the permanence of the Tengalai faith on people. Vide P. 205 Q.J.M.S. Vol. VII, April 1917.

23. Mahapradhana Mallarasaodeya fixed the taxes on the several crafts to be paid to the temple of Vyaghrapuriswara annually. vide A.R.S.I.E. for the year 1923 P. 117.

24. Grant of village Devarayapuram divided into shares among brahmins of various gotras. Vide P. 26, No. 19 A.R.S.I.E. for 1939-40 to 1942-43.

25. Appointment of Alaginiyapillai of Pakkapparru as the tiruvilakku-kudi, to the Ramachandra perumal temple by Chinnamaraju, the Adhikari of Idaitturai. Vide P. 85 No. 74 A.R.S.I.E. for 1939-40 to 1942-43.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

A.D. 1426

(Corresponding to Kali year 4527, Saka 1347-48. Chaitradi Vikrama 1483, Meshadi Solar year in Bengal 832, Kollam 600-601, Visvavasu Samvatsara).

1. Poet Vittalacharya, the authority on Kapila Siddhanta was in this period. Vide P. 49, Arch. Survey of Mysore for 1912.

2. The names of Saluva Vibhala and Pedda Sambu or Samparaya of Saluva Clan are mentioned. Vide P. 388, Historical inscriptions of Southern India by S. K. Iyengar.

3. Lakkanna Nayakar brought out of retirement, a son of concubine, of the Pandyan king, Abhirami of Kalaiyar Kovil, Sundrattol, Mavalivanadirayar, Kaliyar, Saomanar, Anjada Perumal, Muttarasar and crowning him in the days of Tirumalaimavalli Vanadinayar, as a son born of the Pandyan King with the difference due to the ancient Royal family, gave him possession of the Pandyan kingdom for 48 years. Vide P. 347, Maduraittalu Varalaru (Account of the Sacred city of Madura), Ancient India and South Indian History and culture by S. K. Iyengar Vol. II, Appendix E.

4. At Kuchupudi, Samburaya deva Maharaya a son of Ravibhava-Deva Maharaya built a temple in 1426-27 A.D. vide P. 92, I.A. Vol. 38 Parts 1 to 8.

5. As per the record dated Wednesday October 16th of 1426 A.D. Devaraya II caused a Jaina temple to be errected in the capital in a street called Pan Supari Bazar. It is within the enclosure of the royal palace and close to the rear of the elephant stables still standing. The King is honoured like Maharajadhiraja, Raja Paramesvara. Vide P. 78, Forgotten empire by Sewell.

6. Hole-Konkna a son of Simvarasa, an officer under Devaraya II maintained the orders of the old king of the Hoysala nadu. vide E.C. III Tn. 55, P. 77, vide Social and Political life in Vijayanagar empire Vol. I, by Dr. B.A.S. P. 36.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

7. Perumala Deva Daṇḍanayaka was a famous general under Devaraya II. He had two sons one Tirumalanatha Odeyar and another Chikkadeva Odeyar and the latter was entrusted by Devaraya II with the rule of the Channapatna Kingdom. Vide Arch. Survey of Mysore Annual Report for the year ending 30th June, 1907 P. 17.

8. Nakharachari was the Superintendent of the palace of Vira-Pratapa Deva Raya Maharaya. Vide P. 12 A. R. of Mys. Arch. Dept. for the year 1922.

9. Ramachandra Odeyar was the treasurer. Chaundarasa was the accountant. vide P. 30, A.R. of Mys. Arch. Dept. for the year 1921.

10. The Kings of Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Kambhoja, Nepala were acted as Devaraya II's servants carrying his umbrella Chamara, his stick or his goblet. Vide PP. 116, 117, Mysore and Coorg from the inscriptions by B. Lewis Rice.

11. Narasimha Odeya, Naganna Odeya Auchappa were the King's Ministers in 1426 A.D. vide PP. 77—85, I.A. Vol 57 May, 1928.

12. Gift of land to Avudaiya Nachchiyar (in Puliyur Kottam in Jayangonda Cholamandalam. It mentions Devaraya Odeyar. vide P. 40 No. 353, M.E.R. for 1905-1906, Gov. of Madras, G. O. No. 492, 2nd July. 1906.

13. The record mentions Channakesava Perumal Temple Ulimala. Vide P. 49, No. 519, Govt. of Madras Public Dept. G.O.No. 503, 27th June, 1907, E.P. report for the year 1906-1907.

14. Mention is made of Sirreri Aludaiya Nayinar, at Madampakkam in Nadungunranadu, a district of Arayiraveli paru, a sub-division Puliyur Kottam in Jayangonda Cholamandalam. Vide P. 26 No. 319, G.O. No. 919, Public 29th July, 1912 M.E.R.

15. Agreement by the residents of Vadanenmali South Arcot District with those of six other villages, about certain regulations of water supply from the river for the irregulari-

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

ties of their lands vide P. 33, No. 241 Annual Report for 1936-37.

16. Era-Timmayya Nayakar, a son of Sevittu Balayya, Nayakar was the Nayankacharya (under Devaraya II of Mugainadu. vide A.R.S. I.E. for the year 1925-26.

17. Lingamanayaka the younger brother of Vittaiya-nayaka granted lands for worship to the temple of Vittani-suramudaiya Nayinar at Kumarapuram in Munnuruparru, a sub-division of Onmanadu. vide P. 59 No. 133 G.O. No. 1003, 16th August 1919 M.E.R.

18. Grant of a village renamed Devarayapura to several Brahmins. Mallappa Danḍanayaka was officer of this King, Devaraya II. vide A.R.S. I.E. for 1939-40 to 1942-43, P. 263.

19. Confirmation of Manjakkai, Attigirimathan, in the appointment of Tiruvilakkukkudi of the temple of Somanatha Nayinar at Vedapuri, alias Marudaras, Padaividu by Idaitturai, Padaividu is stated to have been in Murugaman-gulaparru in Pangalanadu, a sub-division of Palkunnra Kottam in Jayangonda Cholamandalam. Vide P. 83 No. 58 A.R.S.I.E. for 1939-40 to 1942-43.

20. Appointment of Kariyananikkan son of Vijaya-ganda Gopala a farmer of Pangalanadu as the Tiruvilakku Kudi of Ramachandra Deva Odeyar temple by Karunjirutta Nayinar, the officer (Adhakari of Pangalanadu in Idaitturai Senjipparru and his brother Tiruvengadam Udaiyan. vide P. 84, No. 71 A.R.S.I.E. for 1939-40 to 1942-43.

21. Bycanna, Boyudu the grand son of Muttaraju Sin-ganaraju and Tudirula, Dharmasani gave this sale deed. This record mentions the selling of the Dasabandam Tank, constructed at Boyavidu and Kudichelapadu in Udayagiri rajya. vide P. 1391, A collection of Nellore Inscriptions Part III by A. Butterworth and V. V. Chetti.

22. Sriman Mahamandalesvara, Medinisara Ganda, Khatari, Saluve Samburayadeva Maharajulu caused to be

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

constructed a temple for the religious merits of his father Rayavibhaladeva Maharaju. vide P. 1185, A collections of Nellore Inscriptions Part III by A. Butterworth and V. V. Chetti.

23. A holy city Kosambika situated at the junction of Brahmakundi (Gundakamma) with the sea at a distance of Yojanas reckoned by the eyes and the moon i.e., 12 to the East of Srisaila and which was the abode of 1000 lingas. Kosambika puri a City of Gold vide P. 989 Ongole 55, Nellore Inscriptions Part II by A. Butterworth and V. V. Chetti.

24. Vira Bhudeva Choda, Maharaja, gave Kanuparti situated to the south east of Sriparvata (Srisaila) which is the place of 1000 lingas and which is the holy place of the junction of the Brahmakundi (Gundakmma) with the sea, to the holders of Vrittis and the Brahmanas of the Town, as a Sarvamanya for the religious merits of Vijaya Bukkaraya son of Mahamandalesvara, Sri Vira Devayaraya Maharaya and his queen Demma Amman. vide P. 991 Ongole 56 Nellore Inscriptions Part II by A. Butterworth and V. V. Chetti.

25. King Devaraya II granted to the God Ranganatha of Srirangam, the village of Pandamangalam together with the sub-villages Tirunallur etc., in the name and for the mrit of his mother Narayanambika. vide Srirangam Copper Plate grant of Devaraya II S. 1349-50. vide E.I. Vol. XVI July, 1923, Part III Page 111.

1427 *A.D.*

(Corresponding to Kali 4528, Saka 1348-49, Chaitradi Vikaram 1484 Meshadi (Solar) year in Bengal 833, Kollam 601-602, Parabhava samvatsara).

1. The Reddi dynasty of Kondavidu was over thrown by Ahamad-I Bahmani about 1427 A.D. vide P. 385 Historical inscriptions of Southern India by S. K. Iyengar.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

2. Viranna-odeyar, a chief of Kampolu-maloge and the other 18 Kampanas of Araga, suppressed the insurruction raised by a Bedar Chief in the Araga province. It is narrated at some length in a nagar record (vide E.C. VIII Nagar 29) vide P. 1572 Mys. Gaz. Vol. II Part III R.H.R.

3. Narasimhacharya was the priest of the royal house hold under Devaraya II in 1427 A.D. vide P. 263 Social and Political life in Vijayanagar Empire Vol. I, by Dr. B.A.S.

4. Srigirinatha Odeyar was a governor of Araga province in 1427 A.D. vide E.C. VI, Koppa 27 vide P. 1583 Mys. Gaz. Vol. II Part III R.H.R.

5. The inscription dated 1427 A.D. refers to an edict which excused the levy of all such dues except Vibhutikannikai in the case of the more famous religious centres like Conjeevaram, Kalahasti and Tiruvoyur etc.

6. Mention is made of Saiva and Vaishnava shrines at Chandragirirajya viz., Kanchipura, Tirukkattu, Tiruvorriyur, Tiruvalangadu, Tiruppalai-Variam and others. Vibhuti Kanikke was collected in the temple of Alagia-Tiruchchirrambalam-Udaiya-Nayanar at Sattiripadi in Mangalore-nadu, a sub-division of Kunra (Vattana-kottam in Jayangonda Cholamandalam and to certain royal orders issued to Ariyappadandanayaka Bhikshavritti-Ayyagal and Devaraya Udayar of Chandragiri. Vide P. 33 No. 389, G.O. No. 919 Public, 29th July, 1912 M.E.R.

7. Kaikkolas were given the Kaniyatchi right of the village Vadagarai Tayanur in return for the amount of 30 panam given by them to the Uravar of Aviyur and to the sabha of Nerkunam in Tirukkovalur-Parru in Udaikkattu-Nadu, a sub-division on the northern bank of the Pennar in Miladu, alias Jananathavalanadu. Vide P. 27 No. 209 A.R. for 1934-35.

8. As there was no worship in the temple of Alagappe-rumal (Trichinapalli District for a long time, Kottai Bommayanayaka to Mahasamantadhipathi granted the village of

F. 18

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

Sirukkallikkudi in the nadu which was his Jivita besides continuing the property which already belonged to the temple for the revival of the offerings and worship of the deity. Vide P. 21, No. 143 A.R. for 1935-36.

9. Revival of the worship in Vishnu and Siva temples in the kingdom by remitting taxes other than the usual Vibhuti Kanikke due to the king for the Devadana lands. Revival of worship in the temples at Tiruvidaimarudar, Tirumadukkan, Tirukkara-Ypparru, Valudilampattu. Vide P. 20, No. 113, A.R. for 1936-37.

10. All the taxes except Vibhutikanikke which were due to the king from the temple of Tiruvaural Udaiya Nayinar must be deposited in the temple treasury and that out of this fund worship, repairs and festivals had to be conducted in the temple by them. Vide P. 19 No. 270 A.R. on Epigraphy for the year 1921-22.

11. King Devaraya the II ordered certain irregularities in temple of Nataraja at Chidambaram (Madras State) and temple lands to be set right. Vide P. 42 No. 376 G.O. No. 920 Public IV August, 1914.

12. A royal order assigning certain taxes, due to the king for offering on ordinary and festival days and for repairs in Vacheswara temple (Tiruvallur taluk, Chingalput District) it mentions other temples in Chandragirirajya i.e., those at Kanchipuram, Tiruvorruyur and Tiruppalaivanam, to which similar orders were issued by the king. It mentions Ariyappadandanayaka and Bhikshavritti Ayyan and refers to Vibhuti Kanikkai. vide P. 17 No. 152 A.R. for 1929-30.

13. Certain Heggades of Santalige in Aragaventhe and all the people of Nad gave to Hariyaka Nayakitti of Hebbaradi a deed of sale (Krayadanapatra) Karamon for 30 salege of land in Aramvalli for 80 fine varahas. This generous lady, on the same date gave an ole of the grant and presented the land to Amareswara Teerthasripada for a Chatra in connection with this Mutt. Vide E.C. VI Kp. 27 vide P. 350

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

Social and Political life in Vijayanagar Empire Vol. II by Dr. B. A. S.

14. Thimmanna-odeya who was ruling from his capital Honnavara, over Haiva, Tulu and Konkana rajyas, marched against Ummaramarakala, the chief of Hanjamana merchants. Ummaramarakala of Honnavara had difference with Thimmanna-odeya and consequently to have left Honnavara and settled at Kasaragodu with his followers. Thimmanna-odeya attacked Kasaragodu and behaved roughly with the females of Hanjumana community. Kotisvaranayaka, safeguarded these females. In the first, Rajaguru Devannanayaka was killed and Kotiswaranayaka fell bravely (vide PP. 110 to 112-113 No. 48 of 1939-40) Karnatak inscriptions Vol. I edited by R. S. Panchamukhi.

15. Uttamasettru left out Umbali with reference to lamp pillar of secret place of Parswapura of Kayaragundi belonging to Gurubasadi of Mudabidre. Vide P. 20-21, Mudabidre Charitre by Lokanathasastry.

16. Madhurakka of Ajila vamsa ruled Venur from 1427 to 1462 A.D. from the year 1382 up to 1427 A.D. Thimmannajila III of Ajilavamsa ruled over Venur. (vide page 10 Viravani) (magazine) dated 10—4—49. Sholapur.

17. No taxes other than Sulavari payable to the Treasury at Chandragiri should be collected from Temples including one at Tiruttani, according order of the King and his officers. Vide P. 172 No. 131 A.R.S.I.E. for 1939-40 to 1942-43.

18. Grant by Virasingarayar Devamaharayar, dated Saka 1349, is mentioned (Copper plate No. 10) vide P. 149, Arch. Survey of S.I. Vol. IV Part III.

19. Solage of land in Arunavalli were sold for 80 varaha in 1427 Vide E.C. Kp. 21 P. 79 vide P. 168 Social and Political life in Vijayanagar Empire Vol. I. B.A.S.

20. State taxed the tanks (vide P 229 Social and Political life in Vijayanagar Empire Vol. I. B.A.S.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

21. The Gummareddy family is alluded to as chiefs of an area which included Donakoda village in D. 23 under date 1427-28 A.D. Vide P. 312 Darsi 20 A collection of the inscriptions Nellore District Part I by A. Butterworth and V. V. Chetty.

22. Ramaiah Deva Maharaja son of Srimanmahamandaleswara Antyambaraganda Gummaduri Kamaiahdeva Maharaja, granted a charitable edict to Kalaparameswari goddess of Donakonda (Nellore Dist.) which is situated in Pinayerruvu for the religious merits of Sri Virapratapa Devarayamaharaya. This is the charitable edict issued to Gangaparameswari of Donakonda as an act of charity to last as long as sun and moon exist. Vide P. 319 Darsi 23 collection of Nellore inscriptions Part I by A. Butterworth and V. V. Chetty.

23. Mahapradhana Thimmanna-odeya with his Maruchavadi, warriors of Kenguti, Honnavara treacherously attacked Kasaragodu and behaved roughly with the females of Hanjamana caste there, headed by Ummaramarakala, who had shifted his residence to Kasaragodu, from Honnavara on account of some differences he had with Timmanna odeya.

24. Kotiswaranayaka who had been sent with 1000 men by Mahamandaleswara Sangiraya-odeya of Nagari to the aid of Ummaramarakala at the request of the latter is said to have rescued the victims including Ummaramarakala, and to have fallen fighting heroically against the enemy. Annunayaka the hero's brother is stated to have set up the Viragal after performing the sesi-kruja (funeral rite) vide P. 63. 63, No. 50, A.R. of Kannada/research for Bombay province for the year 1939-40, Kannada Research/Office Dharwar.

A.D. 1428

(Corresponding to Kali year 4529, Saka 1349-50 Chaitradi Vikrama 1485, Meshadi (Solar) year in Bengal 834, Kollam 602-03, Plavanga samvatsara).

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

1. Harihara III captured the city of Karayapattana situated to the west of the Abhinava or new Jambudvipa and that those in possession of it, left it and emigrated to some other place (vide E.C. XI Hiriyur No. 52 dated in 1428 A.D. Vide P. 1555 Mys. Gaz. Vol. II, Part III R.H.R.

2. Lakkanna ruled Talakad from 1428 A.D. to 1440 A.D. vide I.A. Vol. 57 PP. 77—85 May 1928.

3. King Devàraya II made a grant of village Polavaram or Chejerla (Ongole Talu) to his Lieutenant, Pant mailara to help learned Brahmins. (vide P. 149-50 Copper Plate No. 18 from the Collector's office Nellore Butterworth collections).

4. Lakkannadandesha, wrote Shivatattvachintamani (vide Pages 54-55 Dwitiya samputa by R. Narasimha charya's Karnataka Kavicharitre.

5. Devaraya II effected the conquest and annexation of the Kondavidu country which has been a weak state after the death in 1420 A.D. of the Intreped Pedakomativema. Vide P. 259 a History of South India by K. A. N. Sastry.

6. Pantamailara was the great grand-son of Sura. He was a vassal chief of the Reddi caste. He was a lieutenant to Devaraya II. vide the Chejjerla grant of Devaraya II dated S. 1351 1428-29 A.D. Copper Plate No. 18 from the Collector's Office Nellore).

7. Vasudevamaharayalu was a Vellore Chief. Vide P. 189 the North Arcot Manual 1881.

8. King Devaraya II ordered certain irregularities in Chidambaram temple and temple land to be set right (vide P. 38 Journal of the Annamalai University Vol. I No. I April 1932. Devaraya II granted to the God Ranganatha of Srirangam a village Pandamangalam together with the sub-villages Tirunallur etc., in the name of his mother Narayanambika. Vide P. 112 E.I. Vol. XVI Part III July, 1923.

10. The name of the income of the village was Kulagadyana. The following are the Taxes on villages:—

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

1. Nansey, 2. Punsey, 3. Pumpayer, 4. Vasal and Manat apperukadamai. Those 4 taxes were levied on wet and dry cultivation on inferior crops, houses, compounds, looms.

2. Mavadai, Maravadai, Kulavadai are taxes on anials, trees and tanks.

3. Kalayam is a tax on stone.

4. Perkadamai was a tax on persons.

5. Alukkunir pattam is a tax, water supplying man to the fields.

6. Mangamai is a tax on merchants.

7. Kattigai avarasam is a tax on fire-wood.

8. Patai (Kanikkai, a tax for army).

9. Pachehai means a nazar.

Vide P. 112, E.I. Vol. XVI July 1923 Part III.

11. Velangai and Idangai classes assembled in Periya Mantapa at Gramadhanathesvara Temple at Elavanasur (Tirukkoyilur Taluk South Arcot District) and revised the rates of taxes to be collected from the tenants and others who had been the victims of oppression previously. Vide P. No. 55 No. 490 A.R. for 1937-38.

12. King Devaraya II granted 4 hamlets in Sirumuri Pangalanadu, to the temple of Arulalanatha Nayanar and Unnamulai Nachehiyar while Mallappa Dannanayaka was the Prime Minister (vide P. 42 No. 350 No. 961 Public 2nd August, 1913).

13. As per inscription on the wall of the Chidambaram Temple, King Devaraya's official had been fleeing the people and enforcing the payment of unjust taxes demanded by the Temple officials and others. This hardship and suffering was felt so severely that the people deserted their home and worship in the Temple ceased. The King being appealed to after enquiry ordered restoration to be made. vide P. 126, 1428 A.D. the Historical Inscriptions of Southern India by S. K. Iyengar.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

14. Merchants of Mamballi in Yelandur Jagir agreed to pay one Gadyana for every loom, together with certain other fees for God Vaidyanatha of Mamballi, the bathing place of Hariharanatha. Vide E.C. IV XI 69 vide P. 273 Social and Political life in Vijayangagar Empire. Vol. II B.A.S.

15. A sale deed was executed by Muttunayaka, conveying half the portion of the lands owned by him in the village of Vellodai in the District of Chandragiri in the province of Tondaimandalam to Bommusetty for 125 Pagodas. This happened during the reign of Veerasingarayar-Deva Maharayar, who destroyed army of Muslims. Vide P. 68 Private Grant 3 Catalogue of Copper plate grants in Government Museum Madras 1918.

16. Appointment by Mallappa Dannanayakkar of a certain Bemmu paying sadam, to Kalannurkovai, as Tiruvilakku, kudi of the temple to supply one Kalam of ghee every year. Vide page 83 No. 59 A.R.S.I.E. for 1939-40 to 1942-43.

17. King Devaraya II granted 3 villages for offerings to Sri Venkateswara shrine in his own name. While his minister Mallanna provided for increasing irrigation sources in 2 Devadana villages and thus added to the income of the temple. vide P. 35. T.T.D. Epigraphical series Part I Vol. I.

18. The Idangai residents of the villages round Chandragiri together with the Vanniyars who had perhaps a claim to collect this tax for their communal benefit consented to a portion of the collection at Tiruvaludayam, being paid to the temple in the reign of Devaraya II. vide P. 155, Social and Political Life in Vijayanagar Empire, Vol. I. B.A. S.

19. Charitable edict granted to the deity, Bhramins, and the Jangama sect, of Naguluppalapadu was issued by Gangaideva choda-Maharajulu son of Tribhuvana Vennusanketha Alamandala Anavolaya Devachoda, Maharajulu. Vide P. 1053 Ongole 85 Nellore inscription Part III by A. Butterworth and V. V. Chetty.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

A.D. 1429

(Corresponding to Kali 4530, Saka 1350-51, Chaitra-divikarama 1486 Meshadi (Solar) year in Bengal 835, Kollam 603-04, Samvatsara Kilaka).

1. The year 1928—1429 A.D. marks the name of Bhupagovinda of Saluva clan. vide P. 388, Historical Inscriptions of Southern India by S. K. Iyengar.

2. Devaraya I the father of Devarya II had other names like Pratapadevaraya, or Praudadevaraya, Vide E.C. IX Kankanahalli No. 49 and 74, dated in 1429 A.D. vide Mys. Gaz. Vol. II, Part III R.H.R.

3. Harihara III's record of the year 1429 A.D. in Virupaksha Temple at Hampe. Vide M.A.R. 1920 Para 83. He was in charge of the country on the banks of the Bhavani, and Vira-Mallanna-odeyar, his brother of the Bommatti-kallu or Chitaldurg country (Mysore State). Vide E.C. XI Chitradurg No. 14 (Mysore State) M.E.R. 1906 Para 45, vide P. 1555 Mys. Gaz. Vol. II Part III R.H.R.

4. Mangalore Rajya was under Devaraja-odeya of Nagamangala. vide M.E.R. 1901, Appendix No. 28. He built Hosabasti at Mudabidre vide M.E.R. 1901 No. 28. He was a Jain. Vide P. 1584 Mys. Gaz. Vol. II Part III R.H.R.

5. Perumala Dandanayaka was minister under the charge of Mangalorurajya. Vide M.E.R. 1901, No. 28. vide P. 1584 Mys. Gaz. Vol. II Part III R.H.R.

6. We have another instance of the illegal exactions from the members of the Idangai and Valangai castes and their meeting together in the local temple and deciding that they should resist the demands on them sicne the king's officers had joined the Jivitas, who had appressed them. They went so far as to agree that none of these castes should give them (the Kaniyalans and Brahmins who collected the taxes) shelter and that none born in the country should write accounts for them or agree to their proposals. Vide M.E.R. 1918, para 66, Appc. No. 92 of 1918. Another record dated 1429 A.D.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

confirms this resolution to resist illegal exactions on the part of the tenants, generally. Vide M.E.R. 1918 para 66, Appc. No. 216 of 1917 M.E.R. 1918, 68 Appc. No. 91 of 1918. Vide P. 1662 Mys. Gaz. Vol. II Part III R.H.R.

7. Nanjappanayaka, was a son of Devaraya II. (vide E.C. XV Arasikere No. 238, P. 39, dated 1429 A.D.).

8. In 1429 A.D. Kulasekhara, alias Srivallabha was a Pandyan Ruler. He completed the constructruction of the tower in Tenkasi Temple. Vide P. 248, 249, 250, 267. The Pandyan Kingdom by Dr. K. A. N. Shastry.

9. Agreement by the Assembly of Parantakanadu into the Assembly of Parantakanadu and the valangai 98 and Idangai 98 sub sects, regarding payment of certain dues to the King or Temple. Vide P. 182, Local Government in Ancient India by R. K. Mukerji.

10. Bahmani Sultan sent an expedition to Konkan. Vide I.A. Vol. II 1873, P. 279—283.

11. King granted the villages Kalladakurchi and Adur to Apatsahayesvara Temple Sendamangalam South Arcot District. Vide P. 72 No. 655 Public 24th July 1903 M.E.R.

12. Gift of land to Vidyanatheswara Temple at Puttur near Arni (North Aroct Dist.) vide P. 53 No. 55, Nos. 833, 834 Public, 22nd August 1900 M.E.R.

13. Gift of land to Rajarajeswaratirtha of the Badaga-namatha at Kantara in 1429-30 A.D. vide P 13 No. 55, Nos. 762-763 Public 25th July 1901 M.E.R.

14. Building of a Basti and contains a long geneology of a chief named Bhairava in 1429-30 A.D. vide P. 13, No. 55, Nos. 762 763, public 25th July, 1901, M.E.R.

15. Mentions Perumaladandanayaka and Nagamangala Devaraja Odeya as ruler of Mangalore Rajya in 1429-30 A.D. vide P. 12 No. 28 Nos. 762, 763 Public 25th July, 1901 M.E.R.

16. The residents of Vittapparru and the community

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

of Tondirimar granted village Adisudamangala with all its income for worship and repairs, of the temple of Apparadhakshamesvara at Adutura. Vide P. 73, No. 30 No. 961 Public and 2nd August, 1913.

17. Sarvamanya grant made by the King of the village Matangakali near the Kottinatha temple at Kuduka to the north of Barahakanyapura (Karkal District S.K.) to the Brahmmana, Vishnusarma a son of Sridhara and Grandson of Vishnu-yajvan. Vide P. 5 No. 17, A.R.S.I.E. for the year 1928-29.

18. On a temple wall at Tiruvaigavur (Tanjore Dist. Madras) an inscription of date Oct. 29th 1429 A.D. declares, that since the time of Hoysalas, for about a century people had been paying taxes to the temple authorities but not to the crown. The temple authorities seem to have leased out the right to collect taxes—"collections were not made by any one single person— and there was such grinding tyranny—and expression that the whole district was brought to ruin. At last after great deal of negotiations people got the list of payable taxes fixed and the result was engraved on the temple wall. A long list of taxes is given.

"There was a Poll-Tax on every one, a trade tax on every trade, a house tax on every house and every shed in additon to land taxes and tolls. Vide 1429 A.D. The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India by S. K. Iyengar.

19. Gift of a village Gajanuru in Uduvankanadu South of Punajur for the god Divyalingeswara Anileswara of the village Haradanahalli in Yennenad. vide A.R. of Mys. Arch. Dept. for the year 1931—P 157-158

20. Gift of a village Cholenahalli, re-named Tryambakapura situated in the Penugondapuri Kingdom, Rodda Province, Tumbekallu Stala to certain brahmins with Kriyasaktiguru at their head by King Devaraya II. This Kriyasakti who was a royal praeceptor was of Kasyapagotra and of Yajurveda. He was hailed as Bhuvanaguru (World preceptor).

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

Vide A.R. of Mys. Arch-Dept. for the year 1941 P. 157 to 160.

21. The Gowdas were highly concerned in the Agricultural welfare of the country, Ujeni Ramegowda's son Rayicharasa, Masanagowda son Muttugowda and the elder gowda's and other subjects of the Ujeni village, granted by an inscription (a Kodage to Ujeni Bayi-charasa's sno Chamarasa. Chamarasa and the temple priests (Sthanikaru) constructed a tank to the east of the town. Vide E.C. XII Kg. 18 vide P. 35, Social and Political Life in Vijayanagar Empire Vol. II, B.A.S.

22. A chief called a Tirumali rujolai, ninran alias Mahabali vanadirayar made some gift of lands to the temple of Sudikodutta-ruluya Nacciyar. Vide P. 302 the Banas in South Indian History by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam.

23. At the request of Panta-mailara, a vassal chief-of the Reddi caste, King Devaraya II gave the village Chejerla (Polavaram on the banks of the river Kundi (Gundalakamma) in Punginadu-vishaya to learned Brahmins. Chejerla is a village in Ongole Taluk Guntur District. vide P. 46 No. 10 Catalogue of Copper plate grants in the Government Museum, Madras 1918.

24. Appointment of Thikkili-Penman and other Vaduga shepherds of Tevidavan-Palaiyam to the Ramachandraperumal temple (Polur Tq.) North Arcot Dist. by Spatanatha Wodeyar vide P. 85 No. 72 A.R.S.O. I.E. for 1939-40 to 1942-43.

25. Gift of two villages named Pannangudi and Hasticholendra-mangalam to the temples at Tiruvellarai and Srirangam by Vyasabharati the disciple of Ramachandra Saraswati and the son of Dakshinamurthy and Marakatavalli of Chillamantāgrahāram. Vide P. 86 A.R.S.I.E. for 1939.

26. Devaraya II granted village of Siddhakuttai alias Srinivasapuram to 24 Brahmins engaged in Vedaparayanam. This Srinivasapuram is situated in Kottalasthalam a sub divi-

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

sion of Vaikunda-Valanadu belonging to the District of Chandragirirajyam. Vide P. 133, T.T.D. Epigraphical sercis Part I..

27. Nagappa Dannanayaka was one of the executive officers of the Devaraya II. Vide P 133, T.T.D. Epigraphical series, Part I.

28. Revenue settlement effected and reclaimed forest was taxed. Vide P. 217 Social and Political Life in Vijayanagar Empire Vol. I, B.A.S., vide Ep.—Report for 1915 P. 107.

29. Manigana Pundi attached to Prataparayalu's dominian was made over at the request of Chilalasalu, Vissanu Odeyangaru, to be ruled by Kadirucharaju Lingaraju. A charitable edict was issued by Manchirayanugangari, Dache, Singamalireddi, Adipareddi, Vallabhareddi Narapareddi, Bompireddi, Menkala-naidu, Venkareddi, Busireddi, Kommireddi and Malareddi to Vireddi for the tank. In the days of Ratnayammagaru, as the tank in front of the village of Manginapundi was in ruins, it was ordered to be maintained at the instance of the local officer Adigaru, Bommaraju, Singaraju—out of ten Maruth of land given for the tank, by Nagaraju the chief-officer of village, two maruth of land as manayam-one putti of dry-land were given for the maintenance of the tank. They should keep the fields in proper order and enjoy them by cultivating them. One share should go to Malireddi, one share to Tippareddi, one share to Narapareddi, one share to Bompireddi and one share to Menkala Nayunadu etc....... Vide P. 352 collections of Nellore inscription Part I by A. Butterworth and V. V. Chetti.

30. An effaced inscription dated S. 1351 (A.D. 1429-30) from Vriddhachalam in the South Arcot Dist. relates that the members of that the members of the Valangai and Idangai sects met together in the courtyard of the temple of Tirumudu Kunramudaya-Nayinar at that village and decided

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

that since the officers of the king (rajanyas) and the owners of the Jivitas had oppressed. . . .and the Kaniyalam and the Brahmins had taken the raja-karam i.e., taxes none of the Valangai and Idangai people should give them shelter and that none of the people of the two sects born in the country should write accounts far them, or to agree to their proposals. If any one proved a traitor to the country (by acting against this settlement he should be stabbed) vide P. 385-86. Social and Political life in Vijayanagar Empire by B.A.S.

31. 98. Sub divisions of the Idangai classes joined together and evidently decided that because they did not tax us as per the yield on the crop but levied the taxes unjustly. we are about to run away, then we realized, that because of we, the whole country (mandalam) were not united in a body, we were unjustly dealt with. Hereafter, we shall but pay what is just and in accordance with the yield of the crops and we shall not pay anything levied unlawfully. Vide P. 386 Social and Political life in Vijayanagar Empire, B.A.S. Vol. I.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

NOTES' AND QUERIES

A NOTE ON THE NATIVITY OF THE KRIYĀYOGASĀRA

By OM PRAKASH*

If the Purāṇas had Vaṁśānucarita sections to invite the attention of scholars like Pargiter and P. L. Bhargava, the Upapurāṇas had no such sections to attract the scholars primarily interested in the reconstruction of political history of India before the days of the Buddha. The Upapurāṇas would not have come out of oblivion if Dr. R. C. Hazra would not have recognized their cultural and religious importance. Although the real work is yet to be done, the ground for such a work has already been paved by the appearance of Dr. Hazra's Studies in the Upapurāṇas Vol. I. True to the intentions of its author the work attempts a brief but clear analysis of the nature and contents of the Saura and Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas. It also contains an advantageous discussion on the probable date and place of nativity of the individual Upapurāṇas. But as admitted by the author in the preface the work is strictly limited by the availability of the printed editions and manuscripts of the Upapurāṇas, difficult as they are to procure. The work takes into consideration, therefore, only that much of the original literature which was accessible to its author. Such a limited access to the original material hardly justifies the venture of the author to formulate certain general conclusions regarding place of nativity of the Upapurāṇas that are likely to spread erroneous beliefs about matters which are yet to be

* Junior Research Fellow, 32 Allenganj, Allahabad.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

decided finally. To illustrate the point a concrete example of such a case is being cited hereunder.

The *Kriyāyogasāra* is reputed to be a section of the *Padmapurāṇa*, yet it has the status of an Upapurāṇa and has been included by Dr. Hazra in the list of the Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas. While discussing the nativity of this text Dr. Hazra makes the bold statement "That the *Kriyāyogasāra* is a work of Bengal and most probably of its eastern part can be shown by the following pieces of evidence. 1. Mss. of this work are found in Bengal in large number, but are very rare in other provinces. 2. All the numerous Mss. of this work hitherto discovered and preserved in different places in and outside India, were written in Bengali scripts."[1]

On inquiry only at two places i.e. Vārāṇasī and Allahabad in U.P. we have found the so called evidence no. 2. as totally wrong. There are as many as four manuscripts in Devanāgarī script in the collection of the *Vārāṇaseya Sanskrita Viśvavidyālaya* Library. Three of these are complete and the incomplete one consists of 27 folios. It is important to notice that of the six Bengali manuscripts three of which are complete, the biggest one consists of 153 folios whereas the biggest one of the Devanagari manuscripts has as many as 164 folios.

In the collection of the *G. N. Jha Research Institute, Allahabad* there are four manuscripts of *the Kriyāyogasāra*. Of these three are in Devanagari and one is in Maithilī in complete. There is also a Ms. written in Maithilī script in Dr. Umesh Mishra's private collection at Allahabad.

In view of these facts the very foundation of the belief that the work is of Bengal and probably of its eastern parts

1. Hazra—*Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, Vol. I. p. 274.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

is shaken as the rest of the arguments are literary and can be controverted with little effort. The words on which the author bases his argument may admit of different interpretations and some of them would have crept into the text because of the provincial contacts.

Catalogic Details of the Manuscripts referred to:—

From A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit University 1952. Vol. IV (Manuscript).

No.	No. of folios	Script.	Description
1488	106	Vanga	Extent
14959	153	do	do
15069	27	Devanagari	Incomplete
15203	122	Vanga	Comp.
15434	164	Devan.	do
15789	107	Vanga	do
16123	118	do	Incomp.
16124	18	do	do
16395	132	Devan.	Comp.
16435	135	do	do

From G. N. Jha Research Institute Catalogue

No.	No. of folios	Script.	Extent
3307/256	52	Maithilī	Incomp.
3308/257	12	Devan.	do
3309/258	67	do	do
3310/259	93	do	do

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

THE SERIES OF "KNOW THYSELF" BOOKS

(Intended to awaken from the Epimenidean Sleep our Statesmen, Theologists, Legislators, Educationalists and Military Men)

By ANTONY PHILIP HALAS*

The World all through the ages for every sharp-sighted man is divided into two categories well distinguished from each other. The one consists of those men who are wide awakened and who have fully realized the Truth latent in themselves and in the Universe; and the other one of those who labour under error, falsehood, deceit and who consequently worship instead of God necessarily the Father of Falsehood.

As every earnest student of Indian Theology knows the greatest Vedic Deity is Indra and Varuṇa, the latter witnessing men's Truth and Falsehood. On the other hand, "Upaniṣads" as explained by competent pundits and by those conversant with Sanskrit is the science having as target Truth and the destruction of ignorance or Avidyā.

Christ's Teaching revolves round both these opposites. The sooner man understands this basic fact, the better for him, as only by this apprehension he will be able to conquer Death and disentangle himself from "Necessity" (to use the greek word: ananki: meaning the Iron Law of Reincarnations or the Wheel of Births and Deaths) and gain thus liberation, salvation, immortality.

Indian Philosophy is very concrete and categorical in this respect: "But oh Lanoo! Be of clean heart before thou startest on thy journey after wisdom and liberation; before

* Professor of Ancient and Modern Languages and Journalist, 92, Ippocratous Street, Athens, T. T. 706 Greece.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

thou takest thy first step, learn to discern the real from the false, the ever fleeting from the everlasting!"

For one versed in the quintessence of Christ's Teaching or "Logia", this is contained in the two following dictums: "Ye are of your Father, the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. HE WAS A MURDERER FROM THE BEGINNING and abode not in the TRUTH, because there is no TRUTH in him."* And: "The Spirit of Truth will guide you into all Truth..... And ye shall know the Truth and truth shall make you free."†

If now we turn our attention on our Society we see to our dismay and despair that all over the world the three Pillars of the State, namely: Education, Religion and Legislation are based on falsehood, deceit and error! Wiseacreism reigns supreme in our highest educational institutions: Universities, Academies, Schools, Churches, Pagodas, Mosques, Seminaries! All of us instead of being taught to love our neighbours, we are imbibed from our very cradle, we are so to say soaked in hatred, fanatism, in the spirit of persecution, in bloodshed and war! See what is going on all over the world: strife, bloodshed, bombing indiscriminately. Folly has everywhere the upper hand. Cruelty reigns unbridled both in the heart of the ruled and in the brain of our rulers.

Who will save us from this satanic state of affairs?

Having in view these facts and seeing that our Statesmen are in such a profound sleep and oblivion and that the most advanced in technics nations, instead of eradicating FOLLY from the heart of their fellowmen are doing all they can to lull their subjects to a still deeper state of oblivion of their true divine nature, by such treacherous promises as the landing on the Moon and on the more remote orbits of our

---

* John, 8: 44. † John, 8: 32.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

Solar or Planetary System; we have decided to publish a series of books with a view to bring our Leaders to their senses, as long as it is yet time, under the above mentioned heading.

Epimenides was a Greek Philosopher and Seer or Prophet. There is a legend that when a boy he was sent out by his father in search of a sheep; and that seeking shelter from the heat of the midday sun, he went into a cave and there fell into a deep sleep, which lasted 57 years. On awaking and returning home, he found that his younger brother had grown an old man......"

There is a well known method, that of Socratic Dialectics, which was invented by Socrates, the Greek philosopher (469—399 B.C.) which leads to the discovery of Truth and to the solution of all major human problems. The undersigned has been granted from above the privilege to discover both these processes and he considered as his most sacreo duty and obligation to offer it ungrudgingly to the present and forthcoming generations by publishing the above mentioned Series of "Know Thyself" books, which can be obtained from him. Dr. Bhabes Chandra Chaudhuri, the well known founder of *"The World Jnana Sadhak Society,* in his effort to approach the East to the West, was kind enough to suggest to write an article to be eventually published in this distinguished Periodical and I could not but comply wholeheartedly with such a honourable task. The more so as I have devoted all my life in searching after Truth, which led me to the discovery of an interminable series of Truths, which promise to produce the most startling Spiritual Revolution ever known in history at least during these last three milleniums. And as claims, assertions and boastings are nothing else than absurdities if they are not based on facts, let the Reader have recourse to the above mentioned books of mine and let him be sure that he will not be disappointed.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

Solar or Planetary System, we have decided to publish a series of books with a view to bring our Readers to their senses as long as it is yet light, under the above mentioned heading.

Epimenides was a Greek Philosopher and Seer or Prophet. There is a legend that when a boy he was sent out by his father in search of a sheep and that seeking shelter from the heat of the midday sun, he went into a cave and there fell into a deep sleep, which lasted 57 years. On awaking and returning home, he found that his younger brother had grown an old man.......

There is a well known method, that of Socratic Dialogue, which was invented by Socrates, the Greek philosopher (469–399 B.C.) which leads to the discovery of Truth and to the solution of all major human problems. The undersigned has been granted from above the privilege to discover both these processes and he considered as his most sacred duty and obligation to offer it unreservedly to the present and forthcoming generations by publishing the above mentioned Series of 'Know Thyself' books, which can be obtained from him. Dr. Bhabes Chandra Chaudhuri, the well known founder of 'The World *Jnana Sadhak* Society, in his efforts to approach the East to the West was kind enough to suggest to write an article to be eventually published in this distinguished Periodical and I could not but comply wholeheartedly with such a honourable task. The more so as I have devoted all my life in searching after Truth, which led me to the discovery of an interminable series of Truths, which promise to produce the most startling spiritual Revolution ever known in history at least during these last three millenniums. And as claims, assertions and boastings are nothing else than absurdities if they are not based on facts, let the Reader have recourse to the above mentioned books of mine and let him be sure that he will not be disappointed.

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

PUBLICATIONS OF THE GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE, ALLAHABAD

Rs.

1. Sanskrit Documents.—Edited by Dr. S. N. Sen and Mm. Dr. Umesha Mishra 15
2. Mīmāṁsā Jurisprudence: The Sources of Hindu Law.—By Shri A. S. Nataraja Aiyyar, M.A., M.L. 4
3. Gauḍapāda-Kārikā (Alātaśānti Prakaraṇa, with English translation, notes from Buddhist Sources and Critical Introduction).—By Shri Jñanendralal Majumdar, Calcutta. 5
4. Date of the Bhārata War.—By Prof. Tarakeshwar Bhattacharya, M.A., Banaras. (Rejoinders to it also available) 3
5. Problem of Health in Mithilā.—by Dr. Lakshmi Kanta, Professor, Medical College, Darbhanga... 3
6. Indological Studies, Parts I, III and IV.—By Dr. B. C. Law ... ... 7+7+7
7. Prātimokṣa Sūtra of the Mahāsāṅghikās.—Edited by Dr. W. Pachow, Ph.D. and Ramakanta Mishra, M.A. 5
8. Quarterly Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, back numbers Vols. I to XIX per Volume (Vol. III, Parts 2-3 are not available.) ... 25

Annual Membership 15

Life-Membership 150

RULES RELATING TO MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTION

3. The Institute shall consist of

(1) **Donors**, who shall be of four categories:—

(i) *Patrons* shall be persons donating Rupees Twenty-five thousand or more, in cash or kind. (ii) *Vice-Patrons* shall be persons donating Rupees Five thousand or more, in cash or kind, but less than Rupees Twenty-five thousand. (iii) *Benefactors* shall be

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy

persons donating Rupees One thousand or more, in cash or kind, but less than Rupees Five thousand.

(iv) *Associates* shall be those persons, who make gift of books, manuscripts or other articles and approved by the Executive Committee.

(2) Members, who shall be of four categories:—

(i) *Honorary Members,* who shall be elected from amongst distinguished scholars, by at least two-third majority of votes of the Executive Committee after being duly proposed and seconded by two members, provided that the number of such members shall not at any time be more than twenty-five.

(iv) *Ordinary Members* shall be those who pay an annual subscription of Rs. 15 a year, payable on the first day of January every year, which may be compounded by payment of Rupees One Hundred and thirty-five within the course of a year, and thus become Life-Members. *Provided* that persons desirous of becoming an Ordinary Member shall be nominated by one member and seconded by another, the nominating member shall address the Secretary in writing and give the candidate's name and address, occupation or status. The nomination will be considered by the Executive Committee and the election shall be by a majority of votes.

4. The Donors and Members shall be entitled:—

(1) to attend all meetings of the General Council and to propose, second, and vote for any resolution consistent with the objects of the Institute,

(2) to propose and second candidates for Ordinary membership,

(3) to introduce visitors at the ordinary meetings of the General Council,

(4) to get copies of the Journal of the Institute free of charge,

(5) to get other publications of the Institute at such concession rates as may be fixed by the Executive Committee,

(6) to use the Library and Reading-room of the Institute on such conditions as the Executive Committee may lay down.

All communications should be addressed to—

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA

DR. UMESHA MISHRA, M.A., D.LITT.

Hon. Secretary, Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad

CC-0. Ganga Nath Jha Campus. Central Sanskrit Uni. Digitized by Sri Muthulakshmi Research Academy